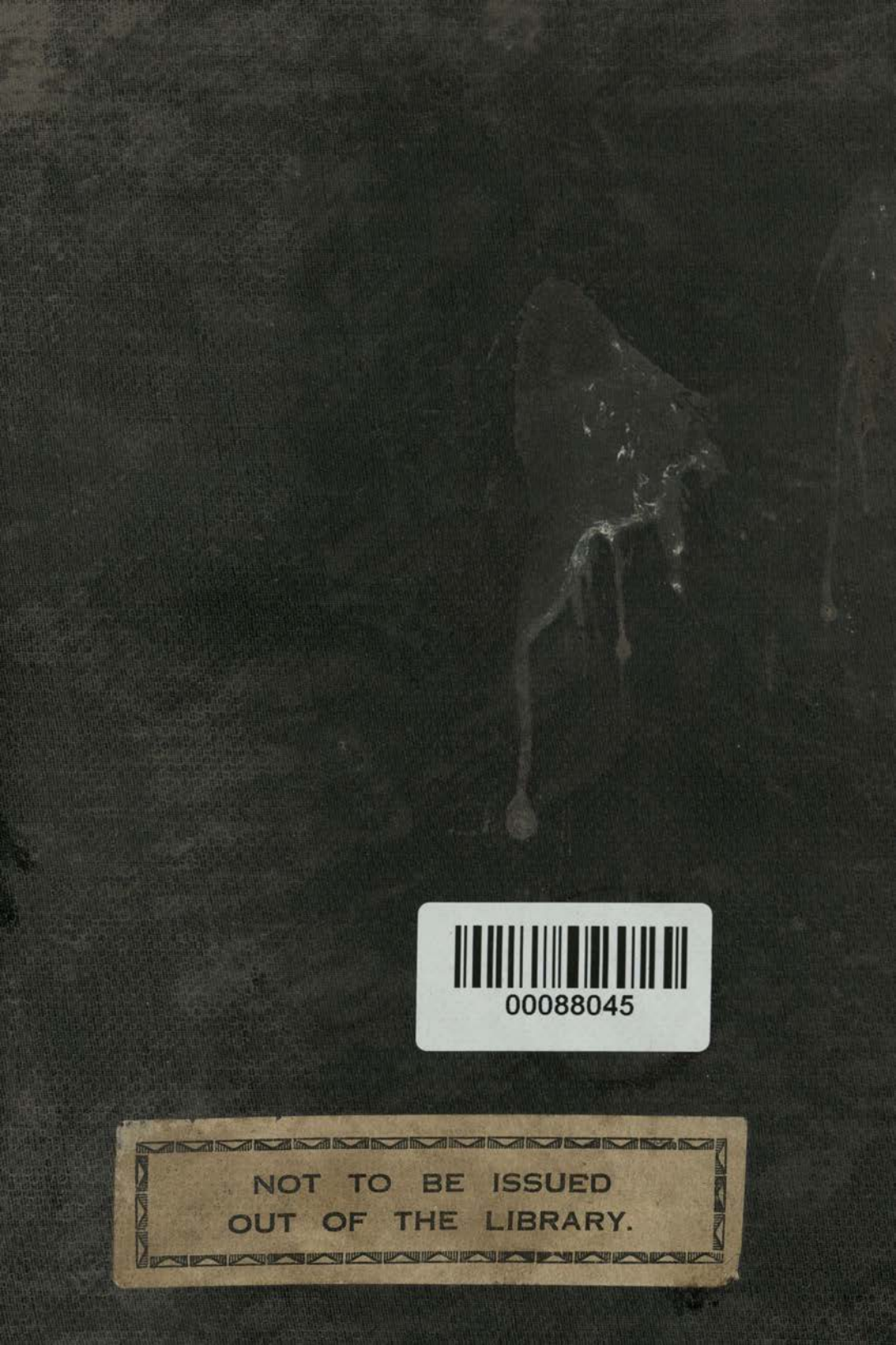


00088045

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from
NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach
on 07 January, 2017

00088045

History of Sind
Vol II

borate the facts related in the texts about the connection of the British Government with Sind from early times to the conquest.

I have also added biographical sketches of some noteworthy persons mentioned in the book, and genealogical trees of the ruling tribes and some other important persons referred to in the book.

In transliterating proper names I have adopted the system followed in the First Volume (The Chachnámah).

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that as a rule, in writing the history of a country, it is necessary to give a detailed account of the system of government or administration, as well as other important geographical, physical and social features of the same. But in this volume I have given bare historical facts, as found in the Persian books from which they were taken, reserving the above information for the concluding part of the last volume, in which, it is hoped that after the history of the British rule up to the present day, the subject will be discussed and the states of things in the different periods compared.

KALICHBEG.

Hyderabad,
November 1901.

Note.

I am highly obliged to Rev. J. Redman, C.M., and L. W. Seymour, Esq., for going through the first and second parts of the book, respectively, and to Dayaram Gidumal, Esq., B.A., LL.B., C.S., for writing an introduction for the book.

K. F. M.

88045

88045

INTRODUCTION.

We know very little about the aborigines of Sindh, but we may fairly infer that they were a race inferior to the Aryans. Omitting the aborigines, the history of Sindh before the advent of the English may be divided into three broad periods—the Aryan (Brahminical and Buddhist), the Semitic, and the Mongol. The invasion by Alexander, the inroads of the Scythians, the irruption of the King of Nimroz mentioned in the Chachnamah, the hurricane blasts of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah, the internecine feuds of rival princes in the Province itself, and their various ups and downs, may well be treated as so many interludes. The present volume deals with the Semitic and Mongol periods, while the first was concerned with the Vedic days of the Aryan period.

The aborigines fell before the Eastern Aryans, the Eastern Aryans before the Arabs, the Arabs before the Mongols, and these last again before the Western Aryans represented by the English. At the present day, the world is mainly governed by the Western Aryans, and no reader of this modest volume can fail to see why they are in the ascendant, for it supplies materials for a safe historical generalisation.

That generalisation is that neither mere Efficiency (Lord Rosebery's watchword) nor mere Righteousness is enough: there must be a combination of both in order to ensure a nation's Solidarity, and the nation that is blessed with Solidarity is always superior to that not so blessed. The aborigines lacked Solidarity and so they fell. The Eastern Aryans had it for numerous centuries, but eventually both their branches—the Hindu and the Persian—degenerated and lost their sovereignty. Any one who reads Muir's History of the Khalifate cannot but admit that the Arabs, when they appeared on the world's stage as conquerors, were superior to the peoples they conquered in Efficiency and Righteousness. It was due to their Solidarity, based upon these virtues, that while Muhammad *bin* Kasim was winning Sindh for the Khalif, another general was winning Spain in Europe, and laying a *firmer* foundation for Arab domination in that country than the

whose history, first literally translated by Capt. G. Malet, has been in this volume freely rendered, wrote it for the benefit of his son Mir Buzurg, "in order that by reading it he might learn what good men of old did; that he might discriminate between right and wrong, between that which is useful and the reverse; and might learn to follow the paths of virtuous men"; and the translator's labour will not be fruitless if this volume enables even a single young man to accomplish the old Sayad's object.

DAYARAM GIDUMAL.

Dhulia, 14th March 1902.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

Page.

Chapter I.—Khalífahs or successors of Muhammad ... 1

Chapter II.—Ghazní, Ghórí and Khiljí kings of Dehlí and their lieutenants in Sind 7

Chapter III.—Taghlak kings of Dehlí, and their lieutenants 17

Chapter IV.—Sind Tribes, descended from the Arabs ... 28

Chapter V.—Rise and Fall of the Súmrahs in Sind ... 36

Chapter VI.—The Sammah Dynasty in Sind 41

Chapter VII.—The Arghún Dynasty 54

Chapter VIII.—The reigns of Jám Feróz Sammah and Mirzá Sháh Beg Arghún 64

Chapter IX.—The reign of Mírzá Sháh Hasan son of Sháh Beg Arghún 71

Chapter X.—The reign of Mirzá Sháh Hasan (continued)... 80

Chapter XI.—The Tarkhán Dynasty in Sind; the reign of Mirzá I'sá Tarkhán 93

Chapter XII.—The reign of Mirzá Muhammad Báki Tarkhán 98

Chapter XIII.—The reign of Mirzá Jání Beg Tarkhán ... 103

Chapter XIV.—The reign of Mirzá Ghází Beg Tarkhán ... 114

Chapter XV.—The Súbahdárs or Governors sent by the Emperors of Dehlí 126

PART II.

Chapter I.—Origin and ancestry of the Kalhórahs or Abbásís 135

Chapter II.—Mián Sháhal Muhammad and Mián Nasír Muhammad 137

Chapter III.—Mián Dín Muhammad and Mián Yár Muhammad 140

Chapter IV.—The rule of Mián Núr Muhammad in Sind... 145

Chapter V.—The rule of Mián Muhammad Murádyáb Khán ... ...

Page.

Chapter VI.—The rule of Mián Muhammad Atur Khán ... 156

Chapter VII.—The rule of Mián Ghulám Sháh ... 161

Chapter VIII.—The rule of Mián Muhammad Sarafráz Khán 164

Chapter IX.—The rule of Mián Ghulám Nabí Khán ... 170

Chapter X.—The rule of Mián Abdunnabí Khán ...

Chapter XI.—The rule of Mian Sádik Alí Khán

Chapter XII.—The rule of Mián Abdunnabí, again

Chapter XIII.—The ascendency of Mír Fateh Alí Talpur ... ...

Chapter XIV.—The rule of Mír Fateh Ali Khán

Chapter XV—The rule of Mír Ghulam Ali Khán

Chapter XVI.—The rule of Mír Karam Alí Khán

Chapter XVII.—The rule of Mír Murád Alí Khán ...

Chapter XVIII.—The rule of Mir Núr Muhammad Khán.

Chapter XIX.—The rule of Mír Muhammad Nasír Khán ... 22.

Chapter XX.—Mírs as prisoners 236

Appendix I—Extracts—

A—Extracts from the Blue Book of the British Parliament 241

B—Extracts from Dr. James Burnes' "Visit to the Court of Sind" 277

C—Extracts from Outram's Commentary on Napier's "Conquest of Sind" 282

Appendix II—Biographical Sketches—

(1) Shekh Bahâuddín Zakariyyá of Multán ... 287

(2) Kalandar Lál Shahbáz of Sehwán 288

(3) Makhdúm Núh of Hálah 288

(4) Sayyed Abdul Karim (Sháh Karím) of Bulrí ... 289

(5) Sháh Abdul Latíf Bhitái 290

(6) Diwán Gidúmal 291

(7) Sábit Alí Sháh 292

Page.

Appendix II—Biographical Sketches—*contd.*

(8) A'ghás Ibráhim Sháh and Ismáíl Sháh ... 293

(9) Mírzá Khusró Beg 293

(10) Mírzá Muhammad Bákar 295

(11) Mirzá Fredún Beg 296

Appendix III—Genealogical Trees—

(1) Genealogical Tree of the Tribes of Sammahs ... 298

(2) Do. of the Kalhórahs or Abbásís ... 302

(3) Do. of the Tálpurs (Mírs) ... 303

(4) Do. of Sháh Karím and Sháh Abdul Latíf Bhitáí 310

(5) Do. of Diwán Gidúmal 311

(6) Do. of Nawábs Walí Muhammad Khán, Laghárí, and Muhammad Khán, Thóró 312

(7) Do. of A'ghás Ibráhím Sháh and Ismáil Sháh 314

(8) Do. of Mirzá Khusró Beg and other Georgian Mirzás 316

Index of Part I 318

Index of Part II 335

PART I.

A HISTORY OF SIND.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I.*

Khalífahs or Successors of Muhammad and their Lieutenants in Sind.†

Lieutenants of Ummeida Khalífahs in Sind.

As has been related at the close of the First Volume, after the conquest of Sind by Muhammad Kásim and the death of that General, agents appointed by him remained in charge of different divisions of Sind, and of these Ahnaf son of Kais son of Rawáh As-adí was then the governor of Alór, which was the chief division. For two years, these governors continued quietly to rule the country; but after that period, rebellion began to spread throughout the kingdom. However, the part of the country, from Debálpur ‡ to the seashore remained in the possession of the governors of Islám. Soon after, Abú Hafas Kutaibiah son of Muslim was sent by Hajjáj, the governor of Irák, and he compelled those of the tribes that had not yet become converts to Islám, to pay the fixed tribute, and then went away to Khurásán, leaving agents to make the collections. Shortly after, Tamím son of Zaid came for the same purpose on behalf of Hajjáj. In 96 A.H. (714 A.D.) in the reign of Khalífah Sulaimán, Ámir son of Abdulláh was appointed to the Government of Sind, and in 100 A.H. (A.D. 718), in the reign of Khalífah Umar son of Abdul Azíz, Umar son of Muslim was sent to carry on a religious war in Hind, and he succeeded in capturing several towns and converting several princes of Sind to Muhammadanism, who, however, reverted to their religion in the reign of Khalífah Hashám. Hashám's son Sulaimán, being defeated by the army of Marwán,

* This chapter is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

† Though the ordinary pronounciation is Sindh, I propose writing it as Sind, as is done in Persian books, in which Sind rhymes with Hind.

‡ Also written Dípálpur.

tled to Sind, where he remained till the Khalifate fell to the lot of Saffáh, the first of the Abbaside Khalifahs, when he hastened back home and joined him, as will be noticed below. Finally Marwán sent Abdul Khattáb on his behalf to Sind.

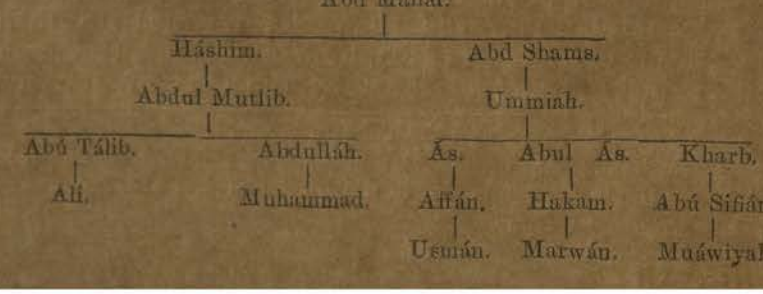
Thus ended the rule of the lieutenants of the Ummeide Khalifahs in Sind, which lasted for 40 years, from 93 to 133 A. H. (711 to 750 A. D.) Then followed the lieutenants of Abbáside Khalifahs. But before we proceed to give an account of these, it would be better to give by way of recapitulation, the names of the Ummeide Khalifahs in succession, and to describe the last event by which the Khalifate passed from their hands to those of the Abbáside Khalifahs.

Ummeide Khalifahs enumerated.

We have seen that the first four successors of the Arabian Prophet, Muhammad, were Abú Bakr, Umar, Usmán and Alí. Alí was succeeded by his eldest son Hásan, who was compelled to abdicate in favour of Muáwiyah son of Abí Sifián, the governor of Shám (Syria), who thus became the first of the Ummeides.* That line of Khalifahs consisted of the following 14 men :—

1. Muáwiyah *bin* Abí Sifián, ... died A.H. 60 (A.D. 679).
2. Yazíd *bin* Muáwiyah ... A.H. 64 (A.D. 683).
3. Muáwiyah *bin* Yazíd ... A.H. 64 (A.D. 683).
4. Marwán *bin* Hakam ... A.H. 65 (A.D. 684).
5. Abdul Malik *bin* Marwán ... A.H. 86 (A.D. 705).
6. Walíd *bin* Abdul Malik ... A.H. 96 (A.D. 714).

* The Ummeides or Banú Ummiah (the children of Ummiah) derive their name from Ummiah, who was a grandson of Abd Manáf, the great grandfather of the Prophet, and Muáwiyah was a great grandson of this Ummiah. Their short genealogical tree stands as follows :—



7. Sulaimán *bin* Abdul Malik ... A.H. 99 (A.D. 717).
8. Umar *bin* Abdul Azíz *bin* Marwán A.H. 101 (A.D. 719).
9. Yazíd *bin* Abdul Malik ... A.H. 105 (A.D. 723).
10. Hashám *bin* Abdul Malik ... A.H. 125 (A.D. 742).
11. Walíd *bin* Yazíd ... A.H. 126 (A.D 743).
12. Yazíd *bin* Walíd *bin* Abdul Malik A.H. 127 (A.D. 744).
13. Ibráhím *bin* Walíd ... A.H. 127 (A.D 744).
14. Marwán *bin* Muhammad *bin* Marwán A.H. 132 (A.D. 749).

Passing of the Kálifate from the Ummeides to the Abbásides.

It was in the time of the last Khalífah, Marwán, who had received the nickname of Al Himár (or the Donkey), that Zahhák of the family of Bakr son of Wábil raised the standard of revolt, and about 10,000 men joined him and proclaimed Sula mán son of Hashám to be the rightful Khalífah. Sulaimán, with 70,000 men under him, marched against Marwán but was defeated by him. 30,000 men were killed in this battle and a large number of the rebel army fell into the hands of Marwán who killed all the freemen and sold all the slaves. Sulaimán collected another army, and once more marched against Marwán. This time too he was defeated. He now went and joined Zahhák and took Kúfah. Proceeding to Músal he killed Zahhák. Being s ill pursued by Marwán's troops he fled to to Khurásán and thence to Sind.

About the same time Abú Muslim revolted in Khurásán. He sent a strong army to Irák, where it j oined the other rebels, and appointed Saffáh Abbási to be the Khalífah at Kúfah. Saffáh sent a large army under his uncle Abdulláh son of Alí Abbási to Músal to fight against Marwán. Here many battles were fought that ended in the defeat of Marwán, who fled to Syria, pursued by an army of Abdulláh. From Syria Marwán crossed to Africa, where in a village on the Nile he was murdered by Ámir son of Ismáil, one of Abdulláh's men, who had come to the place for the purpose. This was in 132 A. H. (749 A.D.)

After Saffáh was proclaimed Khalífah, Sulaimán *bin* Hashám returned from Sind and joined Saffáh, but he was soon killed. And thus ended the line of Baní Ummiah the Khalifate of which is said to have lasted for one thousand months.

We have seen that Saffáh was the first Abbáside Khalífah.* In all, 37 Khalífahs from this line occupied the throne. During the time of the first 25, Sind remained in the hands of their lieutenants, and then it passed away to other princes. We shall therefore enumerate here the first 25 Khalífahs only, giving their short titles only by which they are generally known, and not their full names.† They are,—

The Abbáside Khalífahs enumerated.

1. Saffáh, who got the throne in 125 A. H. (743 A.D.) and die in 136 A. H. (753 A.D.)
2. Mansúr‡ (Saffáh's brother) died in 158 A.H. (774 A.D.)
3. Mahdí *bin* Mansúr ... ... 169 (785).
4. Hádí *bin* Mahdí ... ... 170 (786).
5. Rashíd (or Hárún Al Rashíd) *bin* Mahdí ... 193 (808).
6. Amín *bin* Hárún Rashíd ... ... 198 (813).
7. Mamún *bin* Hárún ... ... 218 (833).
8. Muatasim *bin* Hárún ... ... 229 (841).
9. Wásik *bin* Muatasim ... ... 233 (847).
10. Mutawakkil *bin* Muatasim ... ... 247 (861).
11. Muntasir *bin* Mutawakkil ... ... 248 (862).
12. Musta-in *bin* Muhammad *bin* Muatasim ... 251 (865).
13. Muta-izz *bin* Mutawakkil ... ... 255 (868).
14. Muhtadí *bin* Wásik ... ... 256 (869).
15. Muatamid *bin* Mutawakkil ... ... 279 (892).
16. Muatazid *bin* Mutawakkil ... ... 289 (901).
17. Muktafí *bin* Muatazid ... ... 295 (907).
18. Muktadir *bin* Muatazid ... ... 320 (932).

---

*Saffáh, meaning 'the murderer' is only the nickname of the man. His name was Abdulláh and he got that nickname because he had slain a large number of Ummaides. Abdulláh was the son of Muhammad who was the son of Alí, who was the son of Abdulláh, who was the son of Abbás, the uncle of Prophet Muhammad. The whole line takes its name from this Abbás. Saffáh's grandfather Alí was first given an estate by the Khalífah of the time in the village of Hamímah in the district of Damuscus. In the reign of Marwán when Abú Muslim revolted, he brought the Abbásides to the throne, but Marwán killed some of their members, and so Saffáh and others fled to Kúfah where Saffáh was ultimately proclaimed as the Khalífah.

†For example, the full title of No. 2 Mámún is Mansúr Billáh, and of No. 10, Mutawakkil Alallah.

‡It may be noted here that it was this Mansúr who built the present city of Baghdád in 145 A.H. (762 A.D.)

19. Káhir Billáh *bin* Muatazid ... died in 321 (933).
20. Rází *bin* Muktadir ... ... 329 (940).
21. Muttakí *bin* Muktadir ... ... 333 (944).
22. Mustakfí *bin* Muktadir ... ... 334 (945).
23. Mutíi *bin* Muktadir ... ... 363 (973).
24. Táyei *bin* Mutíi ... ... 382 (992).
25. Kàdir Billáh *bin* Ishák *bin* Muktadir ... 422 (1030).

We need not mention here the remaining 12 Khalífahs of this line, as we are not concerned with them. It will be enough to say that the last of them Mustaasim Billáh died in 651 A. H. (1253 A. D.), and that it was in his reign that the celebrated Tartar prince Halákú Khán, by order of his brother Mankú Káán* marched against Baghdád with a large army and dethroned that last Abbáside Khalífah, and took possession of his country. The remaining Abbáside princes then continued their rule only in Andalusia (Spain).

Lieutenants of the Abbáside Khalífahs in Sind.

The first Khalífah of this line, Saffáh, in the year 133 A. H. (750 A. D.) sent an army to Sind and took by force that province from the lieutenants of the Ummeide Khalífahs. Four years after that, Khalífah Mansúr, (No. 2), sent another army for the same purpose to Hind and Sind. In the reign of Hárún Rashíd, (No. 5), Músá Barmakí was appointed Governor of Sind. As he was very liberal and gave away what he acquired, he was recalled and dismissed, and Alí son of Ísa son of Hámán was sent to succeed him. It was in his time that the fortified town of Tharrah in the district of Sakórah, the town of Bakár and some other places in the western part of Sind were taken by Shekh Abú Turáb, whose mausoleum, together with the tombs of some other persons slain at the time, is still visited. The dome over the remains of this great Shekh bears the date 171 A. H. (787 A. D.) denoting the year in which it was built. It was in this Shekh's time that the ancient town of Bhanbhór whose founder is said to be king Bhanbhórái and some other towns were ruined by an earthquake. Alí was succeeded by Abul Abbás, who retained the governship for a long time. In the reign of Khalífah Mámún, (No. 7), some

* Sometimes they are pronounced Halágú and Mangú.

annexations were made to Sind from adjacent parts of Hind. After that time several members of the Tribe of Tamím were sent from Baghdád in succession, as lieutenants of the Khalífahs. About the same time many Arab families residing at Sámrah emigrated to Sind along with Tamím and his descendants and became permanent residents of that country. They were so domiciled and naturalized that from the name of Tamím, a native tribe of *Thahíms* sprang up and from the people of Sámarah a vast tribe of *Sámrahs* spread throughout the country, many of whom held chieftainships of different places, for a period of over 200 years, paying tribute to the Mussalmán rulers of the country. It was only after the lieutenants of the kings of Ghazní and Ghór had passed away, that they seized the reins of the Government of the country and became independent. We shall therefore speak of them later on.

Passing of the Governorship of Sind from the agents of the Khalífahs to those of the Kings of Dehli.

In the year 381 A. H. (991 A. D.) Kádir Billáh became Khalífah.* He was contemporary with the celebrated Sultan Mahmúd of Ghazní, who invaded India twelve times. A rupture took place between those two contemporary princes originating in a literary matter it ended in important political results. The event is well known to the students of Persian literature. It is this. Poet Firdósí of Tús, the author of Sháhnámah, had written that book at the request of Sultán Mahmúd and in the hope of receiving a princely reward that had been promised to him. But on his completion of the task which is said to have taken 30 years of his life, he got a very meagre compensation. Being annoyed at this, he wrote a very cutting satire on Sultán Mahmúd and then left his country. When the satire came to Mahmúd's hands his rage knew no bounds. He sent his men to seize Firdósí, but he was out of his reach. That poet, after visiting some other places, betook himself finally to Baghdád, where he secured the protection and patronage of Khalífah Kádir Billáh. Mahmúd learning the whereabouts of Firdósí sent an envoy to the Khalífah requesting that the poet be given up to him, but this the Khalífah

---

*His full name was Abul Abbás Ahmad.

refused to do.* This enraged "The Lion of Ghazní." He invaded the kingdom of the Khalífahs and took possession of certain parts. It was about the middle of the month of Ramazán 416 A. H. (1025 A. D.) that Sultán Mahmúd, starting from his mountainous home of Ghazní, in order to invade and conquer Hindustán, came to "the land of the five rivers" and took the forfeited towns of Multán and Uch, driving away the agents of Khalífah Kádir Billáh. From Multán he sent his Wazír Abdurrazák with an army to conquer Sind. During the course of the next year, the Wazír carried his successful arms to the towns of Sehwán and Tattà,† subduing the opposing tribes and driving away the Arabs from the country. From among those, who had formed their permanent homes there, and were harmless and deserving of patronage, he appointed officers with proper allowances on behalf of the Sultán and himself left the place.

Thus ended the rule of the Arabs in Sind, or rather of the lieutenants of the Abbáside Khalífahs, which is said to have lasted for 283 years.

CHAPTER II.‡

Ghazní Ghór and Khiljí Kings of Dehlí† and their lieutenants in Sind.

Princes of the house of Ghazní, whose lieutenants governed Sind. Mahmúd and others.

There were 14 princes in all, of the house of Ghazní, who came to the throne of Khurásán and held Sind in their hands through their Agents or lieutenants. They are given here including Sultán Mah-

* It is well known that Mahmúd sent his message in these words:—

"If you do not give up Firdósí, I shall annihilate you under the feet of elephants." To this the Khalífah replied in the words of a verse of the Koran, which says "Have you not seen what your God did to the owners of the elephants?" referring to a scriptural event in which the men with their elephants were all destroyed under stones thrown over them by little birds (swallows).

† The original correct pronounciation of these names is Sewhán and Thattah, but we shall use the ordinary spelling, Sehwán and Tattá. But we shall use Dehlí for Delhí which is wrong and so Láhór for Lahore.

‡ This Chapter is taken from the Tarikh Maasúmí with the exception of the first para, which is from the Tahfatulkirám.

múd, who was the third, his father Sabuktagín being the first,* and his brother Ismáíl, the second.

1.	Sabuktagín (Násiruddín), from 367 A.H. (977 A.D.)		died 387 A.H. (997 A.D.)
2.	Ismáíl *bin* Sabuktagín	... ...	387 (997).
3.	Mahmúd *bin* Sabuktagín	... ...	421 (1030).
4.	Muhammad *bin* Mahmúd	... ...	435 (1043).
5.	Mas-úd *bin* Mahmúd	... ...	437 (1045).
6.	†Maodúd *bin* Masúd	... ...	441 (1049).
7.	Alí *bin* Mas-úd ...	... ...	443 (1051).
8.	Abdurrashíd *bin* Mahmúd	... ...	444 (1052).
9.	Farrukhzád *bin* Abdurrashíd	... ...	451 (1058).
10.	‡Ibráhím *bin* Masúd	... ...	493 (1099).
11.	Mas-úd *bin* Ibráhím	... ...	509 (1115).
12.	Shírzál *bin* Mas-úd ...	... ...	509 (1115).
13.	Arsalánsháh *bin* Mas-úd	... ...	512 (1118).
14.	Bahrámsháh *bin* Mas-úd	... ...	547 (1152).
15.	Khusrósháh *bin* Bahrámsháh	... ...	555 (1160).
16.	Khusró Malik *bin* Khusrósháh	...	583 (1187).

In the 7th year of Khusró's reign, *i.e.*, in 583 A.H. (1187 A.D.) Ghayásuddín,§ King of Ghór, invaded India

* It may be noted here that the house of Ghazní succeeded that of Sámánis. Sabuktagín was a slave of Alabtagín, one of the Sámání noblemen, who in the reign of Mansúr, the last but one king of the house of Sámání, got suspicions about him and leaving the Governorship of Khurásán came to Ghazní, where he established himself as a chief or a ruler. On his death he was succeeded by his slave Sabuktagín, who had become his son-in-law too. This house ruled for 155 years.

† The Tárikh Maasúmi gives 441 A.H. as the date of Maodúd's death, and says that on his death he was succeeded by Majdúd, who died at Láhór and was succeeded by Khusró. It omits all the princes from No. 6 to 13 because no lieutenants were sent to Sind during their time.

‡ Sultán Ibráhím is said to have had 36 sons and 40 daughters.

§ Ghayásuddín was the 3rd of the 5 kings of the house of Ghór, the first two being Aláuddín and Saifuddín, who reigned for 16 and 7 years respectively. Aláuddín was the son of Husain, a slave of Mahmúd Ghaznavi. In the reign of Sultán Masúd *bin* Ibráhím, Husain was appointed the Governor of Ghór, his native country. As the rule of Ghazní princes was in its decline Husain's son Aláuddín tried to make himself independent and with that object in view, he fought with Sultán Bahrámshah, (No. 13), and defeated him. In 544. A. H. however he was taken prisoner by Sultán Sanjar of Turkistán and was subsequently restored to the rulership of Ghór.

and succeeded in dethroning Khusró at Láhór and taking him a prisoner. He sent him to Ghazní and killed all the members of the house of Ghazní who fell into his hands.

Princes of the house of Ghór, who ruled Sind through their lieutenants, Ghayásuddín and Shahábuddín.*

After conquering some parts of Hindustán, Ghayásuddín Ghórí, when returning to Khurásán died at Hirát in 599 A.H. (1202 A.D.) Some say he died in 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.) and was buried in the dome which stood in the big mosque of the place. He was succeeded by his brother Shahábuddín, who proceeded with an army to Hindustán, took Multán and Uch and appointed Kutbuddín Abík† to lead an expedition against Sind. Accordingly Kutbuddín came to Sind and conquered it in the course of 3 months, and leaving Saiful Malúk as Governor in charge of that province started for Dehlí, where he joined Sultán Shahábuddín, who after conquering several towns and forts, took possesion of Dehlí, which, since that time became the capital city, of Hindustán. Shahábuddín put Kutbuddín on the throne of Dehlí and himself returned to Khurásán, as he had received the sad news of the death of his brother Maghfiruddín.‡

While in his native country, Shahábuddín commenced the organization of an expedition to be ready in 3 years time, to go to Turkistán. While these preparations were going on, he heard that a party of Khókhars had revolted in the direction of Láhór and hastening to the spot, he punished the ring-leaders. But on his return, when near the village of Damík, he fell under the dagger of a headman of Khókhars. His reign lasted for 32 years

---

* The following are the princes of the house of Ghór, who ruled in Hindústán—

1.	Aláuddín (Jahánsúz)	547 A.H. (1152 A.D.) Died 550 A.H. (1155 A.D.)	
2.	Saifuddín *bin* Aláuddín	552	(1157)
3.	Ghayásuddín (nephew to Aláuddín)	582	(1186)
4.	Shahábuddín (brother to Ghayásuddín) ...	611	(1215)
5.	Mahmúd (nephew to Shahábuddín)	611	(1215)

† More properly it is Ibak.

‡ In some books it is Sultán Muizzuddín, and in some Muzduddín.

and some months, reckoning from the conquest of Ghazní. He left a daughter to inherit a large treasure of gold, silver and jewels. He is said to have had 500 maunds of beautiful diamonds. From this the amount of money in his possession may be guessed. He invaded India 9 times; twice he was defeated but seven times he was successful. He was pious, kindhearted and just. He respected good and wise men and patronized them in every way.

Kutbuddín Ubak.

When Kutbuddín heard of the death of Shahábuddín he proclaimed himself as an independent king of Dehlí under the name of Kutbuddín Beg Rashíd, and he forcibly secured possession of the whole of Hind and Sind. After a reign of 14 years, he was killed in 607 A.H. (1210 A.D.) by a fall from his horse on a racing ground at Láhór.*

Arámshah his Kutbuddín.

On the death of Kutbuddín, the nobles of Dehlí put his son A'rámsháh on the throne, but they soon found him to be a weak prince and incapable of ruling such a large empire. They therefore sent for Shamsuddín Eltamish and raised him to the throne instead of Arámsháh. The whole empire of Hindustán was then divided into four parts or divisions.

(1) The central part, with Dehlí as its capital, was given to Shamsuddín Eltami-h.

(2) Uch, Multán and Sind remained in the hands of Násiruddín Kabá-chah.†

(3) Lakhnao was secured by the princes of the houses of Khiljí; and

(4) Láhór, with the surrounding country, came to the lot of Tájuddín Yeldóz.

---

*Kutbuddín was called Ubak, because he had lost his little finger He was the first of the Slave Kings, who succeeded the Ghorí Kings. The names of all the princes of this line are given below in order, as reference to them is made in the following pages:—

1. Kutbuddín Ubak, ascended the throne in A.H. 602 (A.D. 1206).
2. Arámsháh (his son) 607 (1210).
3. Shamsuddín Eltamish 607 (1211).
4. Ruknuddín (son of No. 3) 633 (1236).
5. Riziah Begum (daughter of No. 3) 634 (1236).
6. Muizzuddín Bahrámsháh (son of No. 3) 637 (1239).
7. Aláuddín Masudsháh (son of No. 4) 639 (1241).
8. Násiruddín Mahmúd 644 (1246).
9. Ghayásuddín Balban 664 (1266).
10. Kaikabád son of Bakrá Khán (son of No. 9) 685 (1286).

†He was son-in-law to Sultán Kutbuddín.

Násiruddín Kabáchah.

About the same time a detachment of the army of Changez Khán arrived to fight with Násiruddín.* The latter being unable to meet the enemy in the open field, put himself into the fort of Multán, to which the Mughuls instantly laid seige. The blockade lasted for 40 days, after which period the belligerents finding it not an easy task to take the fort turned back. Násiruddín now remained in an undisturbed possession of Sind and was soon joined by several chiefs of Ghór and Khiljí, who had been obliged to leave their country owing to the disturbance caused by Changez Khán. Násiruddín tried his best to gain the good will of these chiefs by bestowing favours upon them. In 623 A.H. (1226 A.D.), however, Malak Khán Khiljí, with his men, invaded Sind and took possession of Sehwán and other places. Nàsiruddín proceeded to meet him. He killed Malak Khán in battle, but he soon had to face a stronger enemy, *viz.*, Shamsuddín Eltamish, who in 624 A.H. (1227 A.D.) sent his wazír Nizámulmulk Muhammad son of As-ad against Uch. In the course of the next year, the wazír quietly took possession of that town and proceeded to Bakhar in order to take that fort. Násiruddín Kabáchah, who was at the latter place, now lost heart and fled by boat but was accidentally drowned in the river.

Shamsuddín Eltamish.

Since 624 A. H. (1227 A. D.) Nizámulmulk had remained in charge of the administration of Sind. In 630 A. H. (1232 A. D.) Shamsuddín appointed Núruddín Muhammad to be the governor of the province and himself returned to Dehlí, where he died on Monday, 20th of Shuabán 633 A. H. (1235 A. D.)

Masúd Sháh *bin* Ferózuddín.

In 637 A. H. (1239 A. D.) Mas-úd Sháh son of Ferózuddín ascended the throne of Dehlí. In 643 A. H. (1245 A. D.) it was reported to him that the Mughals had invaded Sind and laid siege to the fort of Uch. Mas-úd Sháh therefore immediately started to defend the place. Hearing of his approach, the Mughals fled to Khurásán by the

* Changez Khan is the title of the celebrated Mughul prince or Khán of Turkistán, whose name is Tamú-chín. He was the son of Besúká Bahádur, being born in 549 A.H. (1154 A.D.)

Indus. Masúd Sháh then turned to Bakhar dismissed Nuruddín Muhammad and appointed Jaláluddín as the governor of Sind. He then returned towards Dehlí. At Multán he made a long stay, spending his time in drinking liquor with some of his boon companions. The nobles of the state seeing the profligate behaviour of this prince, sent secret messages to Masúd's uncle Nàsiruddín Mahmúd who was at Babráj, entreating him to come and occupy the throne. Accordingly he came to Dehlí and on Sunday, the 23rd of Muhrram 644 A. H. (1246 A. D.) Masúdsháh was taken prisoner. After two days Násiruddín was proclaimed king of the country. Shortly after Masúd Sháh died.

Násiruddín Mahmúd bin Shamsuddín Eltámish.

For the first 4 years of his reign Násiruddín ruled the country quietly. In the first year, 649 A. H. (1251 A. D.), the 22nd of Shawwál, he started from Dehlí with a large army to Láhór, Multán, Uch and Bakhar. He even proceeded as far as Sehwán, where he appointed Kalích Khán to be the ruler of the place. Next he left the administration of Uch and Multán in the hands of Sanjar, and himself returned to Dehlí. Sortly afterwards Nàsiruddín made preparations to go to Lakhnao, but as his ministers did not consider his absence from the capital expedient, he deputed Jaláluddín to go with an army and subdue the rebellious people of the place.

About the close of 656 A. H. (1258 A. D.) an army of Mughals invaded Uch and Multán. Nàsiruddín hastened to expel them, but the former retreated without any engagement. So the king returned to his capital.

It is said of Násiruddín that he was a very good writer, or copyist. He used to write two copies of the Koran a year and the proceeds realized by the sale of the same he utilized for his kitchen expenses, as they were the lawful earnings by his own manual labour. Once the king learnt that a copy of the Koran written by him was purchased at a very high price by a nobleman, and so he ordered that in future his writings be sold secretly and at a low price. He had only one wife and no concubine, and she used to cook his food. On one occasion, she complained to him that her hands were giving her pain and suggested that a female

slave might be purchased to serve as a cook. But the king replied that he did not consider it proper to spend money on private account from the public Treasury.

Násiruddín died on the 15th of Jamádissání, 664 A.H. (1265 A.D.) after a reign of 19 years, 3 months and some days. He had no issue.

Ghayásuddín.

Ghayásuddín a slave of Shamsuddín Eltamish, was next placed on the throne of Dehlí, vacated by Násiruddín. He held all the divisions of his kingdom with a firm grasp and began to rule the country on very good and just principles of law. Many desolate places were populated in his days. The roads were thrown open to free traffic and communication. The troops were paid regularly. In short he was a very wise and able king.

In the very commencement of his reign he deputed his son Sultán Muhammad to rule the provinces of Láhór, Multán and part of Sind. This young prince was himself pious and learned, and was fond of men known for piety and learning. He passed a great portion of his time in the company of Shekh Bahá-uddìn, Zakariyyá* and Shekh Faríduddín Shakarganj, the celebrated saints of the time and of Amír Khusró† and Amír Hasan, the celebrated poets and learned men of Dehlí. The latter he treated as his courtiers, giving them regular monthly allowances and periodical rewards. When on one occasion Shekh Usmán Marwandí, the biggest saint of Sind, who is known as Lál

---

* Shekh Bahánddín is the celebrated Saint of Multán, whose tomb is visited by thousands of people up to this day. He was a disciple of Shekh Shahábuddín Sohrwardí. He died in 360 A.H. (970 A.D.) He was succeeded by his son Shekh Sadruddín, who was succeeded by his son Shekh Ruknuddín, and he by his son Shekh Ismáil. It was Shekh Ismáil the second, a great grandson of this Ismáil, who in 748 A.H. (1347 A.D.) was put on the throne of Multán, but was killed, after two years, as will be noticed below. (*Tuhfatulkirám*).

† Amír Khusró Dehlawí is a celebrated poet and a pious man. He is said to have written about 500,000 verses and 99 books. He was a native of Hazárah (Balkh). He was the son of Amír Láchín, who came to Hind. He was a disciple of Shekh Nizámuddín Aoliyá, whose favourite he had become. He lived in the reigns of seven kings—from Sultán Ghayásuddín Balban to Sultán Taghlakshàh (*Tuhfatulkirám*).

Shahbház Kalandar,* came to Multán, the king received him with marked reverence and entreated him to make a long stay in the city. But that saint could not comply with his request and went away without tarrying long there. On another occasion, when in a singing party in which Shekh Bahánuddín Zakariyyá's verses were being rehearsed in the presence of his two sons, Shekh Usmán and Shekh Sadruddín, while many of the saint's followers began to sing and dance in an ecstasy, the king out of respect stood weeping bitterly with his hand on his breast.

It is said that Ghayásuddín had been married to a daughter of Sultán Shamsuddín. Once in a moment of spiritual frenzy Ghayásuddín divorced his wife thrice, but when he returned to his usual mood he repented of what he had done. And as according to the Muhammadan Law he could not have her as his wife again before she was married to another person, it was arranged that the princess be married to Shekh Sadruddín, in the hope that that pious man would not hesitate to divorce her again without touching her, for the pleasure of the King. But after the girl was taken as a bride to the Shekh's house, she would not return to the palace of the King, whose whims and frenzies had greatly tried her patience. She cried aloud calling that pious man to help her and not to throw her again into the clutches of her former husband. The Shekh was so much moved at her entreaties that he flatly refused to divorce her according to the previous arrangement. The King therefore revenged himself on the saint for that breach of promise.

It is also said of this King that twice he sent messengers from Multán to Shekh Saadí, the celebrated poet of Shíráz,† who was his contemporary, inviting him to come

* He is one of the four saints, who, when living, were called "Four Friends" and they were Makhdum Jálál Jahánian, Shekh Usmán Marwandí, Shekh Farid Shakarganj and Shekh Bahánuddín Zakariyyá. He came to Multán in 633 A.H. (1264 A.D.) Poets Amír Khusró and Amír Hasan of Dehlí, were his constant visitors. He then came to Sehwán, where he settled for his life. He died in 673 A.H. (1274 A.D.) (*Tuhfatulkirám*).

† His name was Muslihuddín and was the son of Abdulláh. He was a learned man of his time, a poet and a saint. He had made 14 pilgrimages to Mecca, all on foot. His age is said to be 110 or 120 years. He died in 690 A.H. (1291 A.D.)

to Multán and make a permanent residence there. But as the Shekh was a very old man he could not come, and instead, he sent a boat full of his compositions and a letter of recommendation for Amír Khusró of Dehlí, who had become his special friend.

In 683 A.H. (1284 A.D.) Changez Khán sent Kutlugh and Taimúr with a large army to Hindustán. When they arrived within the limits of Láhór, Sultan Ghayásuddín's son Muhammad went with 30,000 men to meet them. A battle ensued in which prince Muhammad was slain, but the Mughal army was defeated and Kutlugh and Taimúr left the country. Ghayásuddín left his grand son Kai Khusró to rule Multán and Sind in place of his father Muhammad, and himself passed his time quietly, bewailing the loss of his son. He died in 685 A.H. (1286 A.D.)

Jaláluddín Khiljí.*

Jaláluddín, the son of Feróz Khiljí was one of Sultán Ghayásuddín's servants. The Khiljís are said to have been descended from Khaljí Khán. This Jaláluddín was a brave man but possessed very little wisdom. By slow degrees, however, he won his way and in 688 A.H. (1289 A.D.) was placed on the throne of Dehlí. Some of the chiefs and nobles submitted to him of their own accord; others he compelled by force to submit to him. In 693 A.H. (1293 A.D.) Jaláluddín came to Láhór and nominated his son Arkalí Khan, to the rulership of Multán and Uch, and appointed Nasrat Khán to be the ruler of Sind. Arkalí Khán was a good and brave man. Twice he went to different parts of Sind to punish the rebellious chiefs. In 695 A.H. (1295 A.D.) Jaláluddín was killed by his nephew and son-in-law Alá-uddín, who took possession of the throne.

Aláuddín.

After Aláuddín proclaimed himself king of Dehlí he began to give presents to and distribute favours among the noblemen of the state, but with all that his subjects in

*There are three Kings of the Khiljí line, who will be mentioned below, *viz* :—

1. Jaláluddín Khilji 678 A.H. (1288 A.D.)
2. Alauddín (nephew to No. 1) 695 A.H. (1295 A.D.)
3. Mubárakshán (son of No. 2) 717 A.H. (1317 A.D.)

general had an aversion to him for his wicked deed in murdering his uncle and father-in-law.

In the beginning of 696 A. H. (1296 A. D.) he began to move actively in settling the affairs of Sind and Multán, about which he was very anxious, because the late king Jáláluddín's son Arkalí Khán was at Multán. Aláuddín therefore hastened to send his brother Ulugh Khán with 40,000 men in that direction. Ulugh Khán laid siege to the fort of Multán. After three months of blockade, the people inside the fort were compelled to leave Arkalí Khán to his fate and opening the gates at night joined Ulugh Khán. Through the intercession of Shekh Rukn-uddín Arkalí Khán was allowed to make his exit from the fort. Aláuddín then appointed Nasrat Khán to go with 10,000 men through the Districts of Multán, Uch, Bakhar, Sehwán and Tattá, to put down adverse tribes and appoint trustworthy men as Governors of the several towns and forts and himself return to Multán, which he should form his head-quarters.

In 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.) news was received of the capture of Sehwán by Mughul forces, from Sístán. A fine was imposed upon the people of the place who had come out to oppose them. Nasrat Khán therefore hastened from Multán to Sehwán by boat with a large army and with military stores and machines. The Mughuls came out to fight with him but were soon defeated and driven away. The king's forces therefore returned to Bakhar. Meanwhile Aláuddín ordered Ulugh Khán to invade Gujrát with some Sind forces, viâ Jesalmer. Accordingly Ulugh Khán came to Jesalmer and took that fort after killing a large number of Hindús. He left two of his trustworthy men in charge of the place and himself proceeded with his army to Gujrát and completely conquered that province. By these repeated successes, Aláuddín's power was much confirmed throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom, which at this time extended on the east, south and west to the sea, and on the north to Bengal, Gujrát and Sind. Every part of this kingdom was ruled by governors and magistrates appointed by him. It is said that every week he used to receive reports regularly from different parts of his country. His death occurred on the 6th of Shawwál 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.)

CHAPTER III.*

Taghlak Kings of Dehlí and their Lieutenants in Sind.†

Ghází Malak *alías* Ghayásuddín Taghlak.

About the close of his reign Aláuddín had prepared an expedition of 10,000 men under Ghází Malak to go to Debálpúr to fight with the Mughals of Changez Khán. Ghází Malak was thus enabled to go and secure Multán, Uch and Sind for himself, especially as Aláuddín's sons proved incapable and caused confusion in the affairs of the kingdom, which ultimately took away the kingdom, from the possession of the house of Khiljí. Aláuddín's son Kutbuddín was a mad man and was soon removed from the throne of Dehlí by the hand of a murderer. The nobles of the state then put Khusró Khán on the throne. But Khusró Khán began to bestow undue favours on mischievous people and to waste public money. The Hindús began to press and encroach on the rights of the kingdom. Seeing this state of things, Ghází Malak's son Fakhr Malak left Multán secretly and joined his father, informing him of what was happening at Dehlí. Then, father and son, being both brave soldiers, collected the forces of Sind and Multán and hastened to Dehlí to help the Mussalmans against the Hindús. Arriving near Dehlí with 3,000 veteran soldiers, they engaged in battle with the army of Khusró Khán, and defeated them. Then making their way into Dehlí they again

---

* This Chapter is also taken from the Táríkh Maasúmí.

† The following are the kings of Taghlak dynasty, to which reference will be made lower down:—

1.	Ghayásuddín Taghlak		
2.	Muhammad Taghlak	... A.H. 725	(A.D. 1325).
3.	Ferózshán (nephew to No. 2)	... „ 752	(„ 1351).
4.	Ghayásuddín Taghlak	... „ 791	(„ 1389).
5.	Abúbakr (grandson to No. 3)	... „ 791	(„ 1389).
6.	Násiruddín	... „ 792	(„ 1389).
7.	Humáyún (son of No. 6)	... „ 796	(„ 1394).
8.	Mahmúd (son of No. 6)	... „ 796	(„ 1394).

defeated Khusró Khán in a battle in which they killed a very large number of Hindús, and Khusró Khán fled away. About midnight the ministers and the headmen of the place came to Ghází Malak and his son in their camp and gave up the keys of the fort. Early in the morning Ghází Malak entered the city with all the pomp and glory of a King. Then he went into mourning for 3 days for the death of Alauddín and his son Kutbuddín. After these ceremonies were over he issued a proclamation with the view of finding out any member of the family of those princes in order that he might put him on the throne of of Dehlí. But as no such person could be found on search, the nobles, the troops, the learned men, the sayyads and other subjects united in selecting Ghází Malak for the vacant post, as it was he who had helped the Mussalmans against the attacks of the káfirs and had removed all the cause of quarrel and disturbance in the country. Thus in the year 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.) Ghází Malak was crowned as the King of Dehlí with the title of Ghayásuddín Taghlak Sháh and his son Fakhr Malak was given the title of Muhammad Sháh.

When, soon after this, Ghayásuddín proceeded from Multán to Dehlí, the tribe of Súmrahs* revolted and took possession of Tattá. Ghayásuddín appointed Tájuddín Malak as governor of Multán and Khwájah Khatír as governor of Bakhar and he left Malak Alísher in charge of Sehwán. In 723 A.H. (1323 A.D.), he appointed his son Muhammad Sháh his heir and successor and took a written promise or agreement to the arrangement from the ministers and nobles of the state. In 725 A.H. (1324 A.D.) he died of heat apoplexy.

Fakhr Malak *alias* Muhammad Sháh Taghlak.

On succeeding to the throne of his father Muhammad Sháh began to administer the country justly and lay down good laws for his people. In 727 A.H. (1326 A.D.) he left Kishwar Khán in charge of Sind, and himself went to live in Daolatábád, which town he fixed as his capital for the future. After two years Kishwar Khán came from Bakhar to Multán and collecting a large

* A description of these men, their origin and their progress will be found below. (See Chapter V.)

number of Multánís and Balóchís raised the standard of revolt. Hearing this Muhammad Sháh hastened to Multán in 728 A.H. (1327 A.D.). Kishwar Khán ungratefully came forward to fight with him, but the advance column of the royal army defeated and killed him and brought his head to the king, and the rebellious army dispersed here and there in the country. The king gave an order for a general massacre of the Multánís. When the troops entered the town with naked swords, the celebrated living saint of the place, Shekh Ruknuddín came bare-headed to the court of the king interceding for the people. The king, though much incensed, gave them pardon and after appointing new governors at Multán, Bakhar and Sehwán, returned to his capital, about the close of the year.

In 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) an idea entered the mind of Muhammad Sháh, that he should rule the country as a subordinate to the Khalífah of Mussalmans, Abbás, who was his contemporary and whom he considered his superior, in his absence. He sent Raffi Malak with rich presents to the Khalífah of Egypt, and the Khalífah too, in recognition of such a voluntary surrender of rights, sent in return rich dresses and Islámic flags, which the king was glad to receive. Thenceforth he ordered the name of the Khalífah to be coupled with his own at the Friday and other Holiday prayers and sermons.

In 751 A.H. (1350 A.D.) Muhammad Sháh prepared to go to Gujrát and with that intention moved from Dehlí to Karnál and as about that time, his slave Tághí had caused a rebellion in Khanbhát with the assistance of the tribe of Járejahs, the king turned in haste in that direction in order to proceed thither by way of Tattá. Coming to the village of Tharí he halted there, waiting for the forces coming after him. Here he was attacked by fever and so he removed from the proximity of the water and came to Kandal, where he got better and was joined by his troops too. So with an easy mind he marched to Tattá, where the slave fugitive Tághí had taken shelter. At about 28 miles from Tattá the king made a halt for a day. It was the 10th day of Muharram, a holiday with the Mussalmans, and the king observed a fast. The next day he again suddenly got an attack of fever and no remedy

of physicians could check it. He rapidly got worse, and on 21st of the same month in 752 A. H. (1351 A. D.) he expired.

Feróz Sháh.

Before the last moment of Muhammad had arrived he appointed his nephew Feróz Sháh his successor and all the chiefs and nobles of the state accepted him as their sovereign. In 752 A. H. (1351 A. D.) on the 24th of Muharram, the coronation of Feróz Sháh was celebrated. Immediately he called an assembly of nobles and gave them presents and promised to bestow favours on them.

Hearing of Muhammad Sháh's death the rebel Tághí made a conspiracy with the tribes of Súmrahs, Járejahs and Sammahs and with an army formed of these people he proceeded to oppose the royalists. Feróz Sháh being informed of his movements sent a column of 2,000 men to fight with him. This force made a hasty march during the night and met Tághí with an army of Súmrahs, whom they defeated in a hard-fought battle and put them to flight. The next day another battle was fought and again the Súmrahs were defeated. Taghí could not tarry longer; so he fled away. On the first of the next month (Saffar) Feórz Sháh left Tattá and moved towards Dehlí. He built a fort on the bank of the lake of Sángrah and left Nasír in charge of it and appointed Malak Bahrám to be the administrator. When he arrived at Sehwán he posted Malak Alísher and Malak Tájuddín Káfúrí to be the rulers of that part. He paid a visit to the shrine of Shahbáz Kalandar and fixed some stipendiary allowances for the keepers of the shrine and other men connected with it. Next he came to the fort of Bakhar, where he spent 20 days and appointed Malak Ruknuddín to be his agent or lieutenant for Sind with the title of Ikhlás Khan and Malak Abdulazíz to be the díwán or revenue officer of Bakhar. He also left 80 men to guard the fort. He then marched on, making similar arrangements for the important places on his way. In the month of Rajjib of the same year he arrived at Dehlí, where he spent some months peacefully, treating the people of the place with every mark of kindness.

On the 5th of Saffar of 753 A. H. (1352 A. D.) he left his capital on a touring excursion and received allegiance from several big land owners and chiefs. In 754 A. H.

(1353 A. D.) he went on a hunting excursion to Kalánúr and the hills of that side. On his return he built several state buildings. He conferred the title of Shekh-ul-Islám on Shekh Sadruddín the son of Shekh Bahá-uddín Zakariyy and then returned to his capital.

In 760 A. H. (1359 A. D.) he conquered Bengál and in 772 A. H. (1370 A. H.) in the month of Rajjib he started for Bakhar. When he came to the hills situated on the way to that town, they brought iced water for him. But as he learnt that on a previous occasion when the late king Muhammad Sháh had arrived at the same place iced syrup was brought to him and that as he (Feróz Sháh) had been then absent, the late king did not touch that delicious drink out of his fondness for him, the king ordered that one hundred camel loads of sugar-candy be melted into iced water to form syrup and distributed in the honoured memory of his late uncle and patron, who had shown so much love and regard for him.

From Bakhar the king came to Tattá. Jám Khairuddín, who was then the chief at Tattá, put himself in a moated castle to defend himself and for many days kept the king's army at bay. At last the king was obliged to leave the place owing to scarcity of grain and grass, rise of water and increase of mosquitoes. He left one Bishkal there in place of Nizámulmulk and himself went to Gujrát. After some time, leaving Zafar Khán at Gujrát he returned to Tattá. This time Jám Khairuddín surrendered to him and the king pardoned him and ordered him with many other zamindárs of the place to go to Dehlí. When these men came to the vicinity of Sehwán, Jám Khairuddín secretly arranged to make his escape by means of a boat. But on information being given to the king by the party of zamindárs, the king ordered that the Jám be put in irons and taken as a prisoner to Dehlí. The king himself too moved with his army to his capital. After some time the king appointed Jám Khairuddín's son Jám Júnah to be the ruler of Tattá.

Feróz Sháh died on 18th Ramazán, 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) after a successful reign of 38 years and some months.

Feróz Sháh was succeeded on the throne of Ferózábád by his grandson Taghlak Sháh son of Fateh Khán. On the 17th of Ramazán 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) according to the will of the dying king and with the assistance of nobles and ministers he got the title of Ghayásuddín. Feróz Sháh's son Muhammad Sháh with whom his father had been annoyed for something and who had therefore been purposely sent away on some excuse and put aside, now came up as the rightful claimant of the throne. In the month of Zulhajj he arrived at the mountain of Sarmór, but he was driven away by Taghlak Sháh who pursued him with 1,00,000 men to some distance and then returned to his capital without completely subjugating him. Taghlak Shah now began to spend his time in youthful luxuries. He kept his own brothers in close confinement. Fearing the king's ill-treatement his nephew Abúbakr son of Zafar Khán, fled away and was soon joined by Malak Ruknuddín, the prime minister, with some other nobles of the state. They made a conspiracy and caused a revolt. They attacked the capital and killed Malak Mubárak Kabír at the very gate of the king's palace in Ferózábad Dehlí. Taghlak Sháh was so much frightened at the results of this mutiny that in company with Khán Jahán, he secretly left the fort by the river Jún gate. But he was soon pursued by Malak Ruknuddín, who caught Taghlak Sháh and Khán Jahán and killed them and hung the king's head from the top of the gate by which he had escaped. This event occured on the 21st of Saffar, 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.). The reign of Taghak Sháh lasted for 5 months and 3 days.

Ghayásuddín alias Taghlak Sháh wd. Fateh Khán.

The nobility now came forward and installed Feróz Sháh's grandson Abúbakr son of Zafar Khán on the throne with the title of Abúbakr Sháh. They appointed Malak Ruknuddín to be his wazír. A short time after this, Abúbakr Sháh, suspecting that Ruknuddín was in a secret league with some other nobles of Feróz Sháh to secure the throne for himself, killed Malak Ruknuddín. He now began to reign with some ease of mind.

Abúbakr Sháh wd. Zafar Khán.

About the same time the chief of Sámánah was murdered by Mír Sadah Sámánah, who sent his head to Muhammad Sháh son of the late king, at Nagarkót. Muhammd Sháh

getting this favourable opportunity hastened to Sámánah and proclaimed himself king of the place, in the month of Rabí-ul-awwal and received the obeisance of Mír Sadah Sámánah and other zamíndárs of the place. Here Muhammad Sháh was soon joined by some other nobles who had deserted Abúbakr Sháh. In a short time about 20,000 foot and horse assembled under the standard of Muhammad Sháh, who now proceeded from Sámánah to Dehlí. By the time he arrived in the vicinity of Dehlí, his forces increased to 50,000 men. Thus equipped Muhammad Sháh marched on hastely and encamped at Jahánábád, on the 2nd day of Rabí-ul-ákhar of 791 A. H. (1389 A. D.) and again on the 2nd of Jamádi-ul-awwal of the same year and engagement took place within the heart of the town of Ferózábád between the armies of Muhammad Sháh and Abúbakr Sháh. While the battle was going on, Abúbakr Sháh was suddenly strengthened by the arrival of succour under Bahádur Khán of Mewát and he gained the upper hand. The next day a hard battle was fought which too ended in the defeat of Muhammad Sháh and in his escape with 2,000 men to Duábah, across the river Jún. Once more in the month of Shuabán of the same year, Muhammad Sháh came prepared for a fight with Abúbakr Sháh, but he soon fled, being pursued to a distance of 6 miles by the victorious army of the king. Thenceforth Muhammad Sháh remained in one place in a position of rest. In the next month (Ramazan) he only wrote letters to the people of Láhór, Multán and other places instigating them to kill all the men of the side of Feróz Sháh, wherever they could find them. Accordingly massacre and plunder made their appearance in those towns, to the great annoyance of the public. At last the nobles of the state being disheartened by the cruel behaviour of Muhammad Sháh left him and went to Abúbakr Sháh at Mewát. The reign of this king lasted for a year and a half only.

Muhammad Sháh *bin* Feróz Sháh.

Muhammad Sháh son of Feróz Sháh came to the throne on 16th Ramazan 792 A.H. (1389 A.D.). His first act was to banish some of his father's men, who had been against him and to slay others. At the same time he issued a proclamation to the effect that if any of such men were found in his country, they would be killed.

Coming to Dehlí, he began to effect some improvements in state affairs. After he had sufficiently strengthened himself, he deputed his son Humáyún Khán, with the advice of his ministers to go and fight against Abúbakr Sháh who was now living at Kótlah. Accordingly this prince with his forces came to the vicinity of that place and camped there. During the night, Abúbakr Sháh with the assistance of Bahádur Khán the leader of Feróz Sháh's men, who had joined him, made a sudden attack on the prince's camp. A severe engagement ensued in which Abúbakr Sháh was defeated and he hurried to the fort of Kótlah, where he took shelter from the invading forces. Hearing this state of things Muhammad Sháh himself came down to the place by hurried marches and laid siege to the fort. The result was that Abúbakr Sháh was obliged to surrender. He was taken prisoner and sent to the fort of Mewát, where ultimately he died.

Soon after his return to Dehlí the king went to Gujrát and thence to Bengál, where he punished some of the mischief-makers and then came and halted at the castle of Muhammadábád, which town he had built in his time. During his stay here he got ill, but hearing that Bahádur Náhir had attacked some villages in the close vicinity of Dehlí and pillaged them, he started for Mewat without delay, though very weak. At Kótlah he met Bahádur Náhir, who gave him battle in open field, but being soon defeated, retired to the fort of Kótlah. He could not however remain long there and was compelled to run away. The king now prepared to go to Muhammadábád but illness returned to him with double severity, to which he succumbed on 17th Rabí-ul-awwal 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.). He reigned for 6 years and 7 months.

Aláuddín *alias* Humáyún *bin* Muhammad Sháh.

After the 3 days of the mourning ceremony of the late king, his son Humáyún Khán ascended the throne with the title of Aláuddín. He tried his best to walk in the steps of his father. But unfortunately he soon got unwell and died on the 5th of Jamádi-al-awwal of the same year.

Mahmúd Sháh *alias* Násiruddín *bin* Muhammad Sháh.

On the death of Aláuddín many nobles and ministers determined to retire to their estates, leaving the kingdom to its fate. But Khán Jahán, the prime minister of

Muhammad Sháh induced them to return to the capital. They unanimously placed Muhammad Sháh's youngest son Násiruddín on the throne, with the title of Mahmúd Sháh. His coronation took place on 20th Jamádi-al-awwal 796 A. H. (1393 A. D.). He treated his late father's and brother's ministers and nobles with singular distinction, and conferred the title of Sultánusharaf on Khán Jahán. He appointed him governor of the province extending from Kanúj to Bahár and sent him with a large army in that direction. Accordingly Khán Jahán went and joined his new post. He soon brought the powerful chiefs and zamindárs of that district under his sway and rebuilt several fortified towns that had fallen into decay. All the rájáhs and amírs of Bengál and neighbouring states, who hitherto used to send present and nazránahs to Feróz Sháh now began to send the same to Mahmúd Sháh.

In the same year Mahmúd Sháh prepared an expedition under Sárang Khán against Debálpur and Siṅd, and against Shekhá Khókhar, who with the assistance of Bhattís, Khiljís and some tribes of Multán had commenced to play mischief. Accordingly in the month of Zí-kaad of 796 A. H. (1393 A. D.) Sárang Khán started for Láhór and arriving within about 12 koss from that town, engaged with Shekhá Khókhar in a pitched battle. Shekhá Khókhar was defeated and fled to the mountain of Jamún. The next day Sárang Khán took possession of the fort of Láhór, and left his brother Malak Khandú with the title of Ádil Khán, in charge of the place, and himself went to Debálpur. In the month of Shuabán of the same year, Mahmúd Sháh left Mukarrab Khán with some other trustworthy men in charge of the fort of Debálpur and himself, taking Saádat Khán with him, left for Gwaliár and Bayánah. When he arrived near Gwaliár a treacherous conspiracy was formed against him by Malak Aláuddín Márwál, Mubárak Khán son of Malak Rajúr and Sárang Khán's brother Malúr. Saádat Khán getting secret information about this league, managed to secure Malak Aláuddín and Sárang Khán and killed them. Sárang Khán's brother Malúr effected his escape and coming to the king succeeded in removing the

suspicion against himself; then quietly slipping from his camp to the town, openly defied him to fight. The king with the assistance of Saádat Khán laid siege to the town. Then commenced daily engagements between the two parties, which continued for three months. At length some of Mukarrab Khán's friends treacherously separated the king from Saádat Khán and brought him to the town. Saádat Khán, seeing that his efforts to take the fort were of no avail and having no hope of taking any active measures owing to the rain falling about the time, he left the place and moved to Ferózábád and there, all the nobles of the place unanimously summoned Násiruddín son of Feróz Khán and grandson of Feróz Sháh, who was in Mewát, and in the month of Rabí-ul-awwal put him on the throne of Ferózábád with the title of Nasrat Sháh. But soon perceiving that Nasrat Sháh had become now a different person from before, the nobility found means to detach Saádat Khán, who was the chief of the ministers, from him. Thus putting Saádat Khán, by some excuses at a distance from Nasrat Sháh, they tried to harm him. And Saádat Khán not being able to cope with them single-handed hastened to Dehlí, where Mukarrab Khán treacherously got him murdered.

After this occurrence Muhammad Muzaffar, Sháhah Náhir and Fazlulláh, who were house-born slave-nobles of Feróz Sháh had no other alternative but to join Nasrat Sháh. And the latter with their assistance succeeded in securing many parts of the kingdom.

Seeing this state of things king Násiruddín Mahmúd Sháh began to look with fear and suspicion at his nobles and army. He was in a fix as to what course to adopt in dealing with them. But soon war broke out between the two claimants to the throne. In 798 A.H. (1395 A.D.) some disagreement arose between Sárang Khán, the governor of Debálpur and Láhór, on behalf of Mahmúd Sháh and Khizir Khán, the ruler of Multán. Some men of the tribe of Bhattí also joined him and increased his ranks. Thus strengthened Sárang Khán came and took Multán. In Ramazan 799 A.H. (1396 A.D.) he assembled a large force and proceeded towards Dehlí. The chief men of Dehlí made common cause and came out prepared to fight

with him. A battle took place between them on the 15th of Muharram 800 A.H. (1397 A.D.). Sárang Khán, being defeated, returned to Multán.

This disagreeable war-fare continued between these two princes, causing much disturbance in the country. A foreign enemy now appeared on the scene, who changed the aspect of the whole affair. In the month of Rabí-ul-awwal of the same year, Mirzá Pír Muhammad a grandson of Amír Taimúr, known by the title of Sáhib Kirán, traversing the Panjáb, the land of five rivers, laid siege to the fort of Uch. Malak Alí, who was the governor of the place, on behalf of Sárang Khán defended himself in the fort and kept the assailants at bay for about a month. Then arrived succour in the form of 4,000 men, under Malak Tájuddín despatched by Sárang Khán. At the approach of this reinforcement Mirzá Pír Muhammad left the fort and went in advance to meet Malak Tájuddín. He put him to flight and then returned to lay siege to the fort of Multán. For six months continually he kept on fighting with Sárang Khán. After this period Sárang Khán surrendered to the Tartar prince. Mirzá Pír Muhammad took possession of Multán and made a halt there for some time.

Hearing of the encroachments of Mirzá Pír Muhammad as precursors of Amír Taimúr, all the nobles and ministers of Dehlí assembled in Shawwál 800 A.H. (1397 A.D.) at the shrine of Shekh Kutbuddín Bakhtyár Káki and brought about reconciliation and union between them and thus secured strength and protection for the empire immediately within the province of Dehlí, detaching Sind to shift for itself under its rulers.

In the month of Saffar 801 A.H. (1398 A.D.) amír Taimúr himself came with a large army to Multán and joined his grandson Mirzá Pír Muhammad. He dealt out undue punishment to those who had opposed his party, some of whom were even then prisoners.

At this time the rulers of Sind threw off the yoke of the kings of Dehlí and thereafter ruled their country independently.

CHAPTER IV.*

Sind tribes descended from the Arabs.

Remnants of the Arab rulers in Sind and tribes descended from them.

Before we take up the account of Súmrah and Sammah rulers of Sind, who next claim our attention, we shall try to give some account of the remnants of the Arab rulers, from whom arose those two main tribes.

At the time of the Khalífahs of the Ummeide dynasty, there were still a few Hindú princes ruling some parts of Sind. The chief among them were Dalúrái at Alór and Bhanbhórái at Bambhór, which town was called after him, he being its founder.† We have also seen above that in the reign of Harún Rashíd, a Khalífah of the abbaside dynasty, this same Bhanbhór and some other old towns of Sind were destroyed by a convulsion of the earth, which necessitated the removal of the people, in large bodies to the interior of Hindustán; also that at the time of Khalífah Mamún many Arab families of Baghdád and Sámrah‡ emigrated to Sind, and became permanent residents of that country.

It may be noted here that in the reign of Sultán Árám Sháh when Hindustán was divided into four parts, and the part of Sind and Multán fell to the lot of Násiruddín Kabáchah there were seven native ránás or princes paying tribute to Multán. They were—

(1) Ráná Bhanar Sahtah Ráthór of Derah in Darbelah.
(2) Ráná Sinyar *wd.* Dhamách, Kourejah Sammah, resident of Tóng in Rópáh.
(3) Jesar *wd.* Jajah, Máchhí Sólangí of Máníktárah.
(4) Wakhiah *wd.* Punhún Chanón at Darah Siwí.
(5) Chanón *wd.* Dethah Chanah at Bhágnai.
(6) Jiyah *wd.* Dariáh of Jhim *i.e.* Hímah Kót.
(7) Jasódhan Ágrah of Men Takar in Bhanbhór (Brahmanábád.)

---

* This chapter is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

† It was in the reign of this Bhanbhórái that Sasúi was born, who is the heroine of many Sindhí poems and whose love for Punhún is still sung every where in Sind. The tale is given in our life of Sháh Abdúllatíf Bhitái.

‡ It has been noted somewhere above that the Súmrahs take their origin from Sámrah.

In 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.) when Abdurrazák, the wazír of Sultan Mahmúd of Ghazní invaded Sind and taking Bakhar came to Sehwán and Tattá, there were indeed very few Arab residents of the time of the Ummeides and the Abbásides to be found in Sind. It is carefully calculated that there were only 18 such families of any importance, then existant in the province, some remnants of which can still be found in our time. They are enumerated below :—

(1) *Sakifís*—The Kázís of Bakhar and Alór or Rohrí are descended from Músá son of Yaakúb son of Tái son of Muhammad son of Shaibán, son of Usman Sakifí. The author of the conquest of Sind in Arabic, from which Chachnámah was translated, Kází Ismáil son of Alí son of Muhammad son of Músá, son of Tái, is one of the descendants of the same line. Músá son of Yaakúb was the grandson of this gentleman Kází Ismáil and was appointed the first Kází of Alór by Muhammad Kásim after the conquest of the place.

(2) Tamímís* (or the children of Tamím), from whom is descended by a slight change of name, the present tribe of Thahíms.

(3) Mughairah† (or the children of Mughairah) which by a slight change of pronounciation, gives the name of Móriá to the tribe still in existence.

(4) Abbásís, by which name Kalhórahs and some other tribes are still known.

(5) Siddíkís
(6) Fárúkís
(7) Usmánís
} whose descendants still reside in some parts of Sind.

(8) Panwhárs—who are the children of Háris.

(9) Mangís, who belong to a branch of Tamímís.

(10) Jabriahs—from whom is descended Shekh Tái at Hálání.

(11) Asadiah (or the children of Asad) from whom is descended Shékh Turáb of Fatehpur.

(12) Utbah,‡ (or the children of Utbah) from whom is descended Kází Burhán, also of Fatehpur.

(13) Banwálís, who were a tribe of Súfís, from whom are descended some Darweshes of Rel.

(14) Hákim (or the children of Hákim) from whom is descended the tribe of Bájár, known as Jhángár.

---

* Known as Baní Tamím.

† Called Baní Mughairah.

‡ Known as Baní Utbah.

(15) Jarímah (or the children of Jarímah Ansárí) from whom is descended the tribe of Sipia of Siwistán.

(16) Ansáris.

(17) Jat } both of whom are the descendants of Harún Mak-
(18) Balój } ràni.

The last two tribes are of some importance and so we shall here speak more about them.

The Jat and Balój* tribes.

Muhammad son of Hárún Makrání was one of the officers of Makrán, who, in company with Muhammad Kásim, had come to Armanbelah, at the time of the conquest of Sind and had died there. His remains were buried at that place He was a grandson of Muhammad son of Abán, son of Abdurrahím son of Hamzah son of Abdul Mutlib.† It is believed that once Hamzah had come out on a hunting excursion to a lonely desert about this part of the country and confronting a fairy, associated with her and then returned to his native country. The fairy soon found herself with child and in due course of time gave birth to a son, who was named Abdurrahím. In short Muhammad son of Harún is said to have got 50 sons by 7 wives, as shown below :—

By Humairá	...	... Seven.
„ Humairí	...	... Seven.
„ Mariam	...	... Six.
„ Áishah	...	... One.
„ Maddí	...	... Seven.
„ Fátimah	...	... Nine.
„ Hawwá	...	... Thirteen.

After the passing away of Muhammad son of Hárún, the land of Makrán was divided into two parts, one going to the children of one of the sons of Jalál who was the last of Muhammad's sons by his first wife, and the other to all the other brothers jointly. After some time a quarrel arose between the brothers. The children of Jalál were driven away to Sind and Kachh, where innumerable tribes branched off from them.

---

* Also called Balóch.

† The prophet Muhammad being son of Abdulláh son of Abdul Mutlib, was a cousin of Hamzah, who is extolled among the Arabs as the bravest hero in the world.

The tribe of Lódah.

Lódahs are also called Lóliás. They take their name from Lóliá, a female slave, who, in the days of king Soloman son of David, being found in connection with one of his genii, is said to have been given away to him as a wife. A son was born of this couple and he was called Lódah. His descendants subsequently mixed with wandering Arabs and at the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, became residents about this part of the country.

The tribe of Sammah, its origin and its branches.

The tribe of Sammah derives its name and is descended from Sám, and Sám according to one tradition was the son of Umar son of Háshim son of Abú Lahab.* According to another tradition he was the son of Umar son of Akramah son of Abú Jahl.* According to a third, he was the son of Akramah son of Asám son of Abú Jahl. But as the title of Jám was subsequently adopted by chiefs of the tribe, it appears more probable that Sám was a descendant of king Jamshed of Persia, or he was the same person as is known in the history as Sám son of Núh (Noah).

Whatever may be his origin, Sám had four sons and the names of these with the tribes descended from them are given as follows† :—

(1) Budha (2) Sangá (3) Hamahr (4) Bhágrat.

Budha had 16 sons :—

Badah, Sórah, Sahtah, Akhel, Aotár, Amrah, Bazír and others. They are all known by the general title of Ráthór.

Sangá and Hamahr had each issue, that of the latter being called Túdarast.

Bhágrat had a son by name Derah, who had a son by name Ajepár, who had a son by name Dasrat.

Dasrat is said to have had three wives, Kaselá, Keliah and Samiá. By his first wife he had two sons Rám and Lakhman; by his second wife, he had one son by name Bart; and by his third wife also he had one son who was called Chatrkan.

---

* Abú Lahab and Abú Jahl were uncles of the prophet Muhammad and were his enemies, having remained unbelievers up to the last.

† In speaking of the branches of this tribe we shall confine ourselves to those only, who have some reference to Sind.

Of these Bart had four sons—Parhár, Janspá, Kórejáh and Náhah. Chatrkan's children are known by the name of Chárará. Lakhman had no issue, and Rám had one son by name Nawákas, who had a son by name Atat, whose son was called Tatat, who had a son by name Narganat, whose son was known by the name of Kin from whom the town of Kin took its name. Kin had a son who was called Sanbút Rájá.

Sanbút Rájá had four sons Sám, Bar Karrah (also called Sháh) Hunrut (also called Dakhan) and Máwah. Of these, Sám had a son by name Jádam, who had four sons—(1) Hispat, from whom are descended Sind Sammahs; (2) Kajpat, from whom is descended the tribe of Chaghdah. (3) Bahúpat, whose descendants are Bhattís. (4) Jórá-Sammah from whom was descended the celebrated generous prince, Rái Diáj, the king of Karnál in the parganah of Sórath.*

Of these four sons of Jádam, Hispat had a son whose name was Zabdarí, who had a son by name Nayyit, whose son was called Ráno-Tyárá, who had a son by name Ódhár, who was the father of Udhah, whose son was called Lákhiár, who again had a son by name Lákhah.

Lákhah became a king and married a lady from Buthí Chárah, by whom he had four sons, two of whom were well known, *viz.* Udhah, who had no issue and from whom the place where he resided got his name Oudh; and Mahár, who had four sons (1) Satiah (2) Waditar-Páthárí (3) Warhá, who had no issue (4) Sánd, who too died without any issue.

It is said that, in his old age, Lákhah married another wife, by whom too he got four sons,—*viz.*

(1) Unar (2) Chhuttah, who had three sons,—Bábrah, Dankannah and Kalah, (3) Phul Lákhah, who had a son by name Kaláni, (4) Manáhiah.

Of these, Lákhah's eldest son Unar had a son by name Lákhah, whose son was named Sammah, who had two sons, Kákah and Jakhrah.

---

* Sórath was also the name of this prince's queen. He gave his head in charity. The story of Rái Diáj and Sórath is sung in Sindhí verses. The tale is given in our life of Sháh Abdullatíf Bhitai.

Kákah* became a ruler of his country and the town of Kák or Kákah was named after him. He got two sons—Pallí and Ráidan. Of the children of Pallí, Masrak Sammah became the chief of his tribe.

Ráidan son of Kákah had nine sons, and they are,—(1) Sammah, from whom are descended the Samejás (2) Nótíar, from whom are descended all the Nóts (3) Lákhah, whose descendants are Lanjárs. The well-known saint Shekh Sáhar Lanjár is out of them (4) Abrah whose children were Phul Náhiah and Dáhar Náhiah (5) Náhiyah (6) Chanesar, who became a celebrated person of his time (7) Manáhiah (8) Kóriah,† from which last three is descended the tribe of Mandrah (9) Pallí who became the chief of his people.

Pallí the last son of Ráidan had two sons (1) Udhah, from whom are descended Bahriahs, Udhejás and Kadriah-pótás; (2) Sánd, who became the headman of his tribe.

Sánd son of Pallí had seven sons;—(1) Kákah, whose descendants are known by the name of Kákejah-pótás (2) Járah, (3) Wírah, (4) Janejah, (5) Hingórah, from whom are descended Udhejás, Jaksiahs, Dhorhás and Hingórjás, (6) Derah, whose descendants are Derah Sammah, in Kachh (7) Jám Hóthí.

The last of these, Jám Hóthí had five sons,—(1) Hálah from whom the tribe of Hálahs takes its origin and name. (2) Hingórah, from whom are descended the residents of Dhoríah Hingórah, Chárah Hingórah, and Rámdeh, (3) Sáhar, from whom are descended Sáhar Sammahs (4) Chelárjah whose descendants are Nahriahs, (5) Jám Hápar.

Jám Hápar had two sons, Ráhújah and Jám Júnah. Jám Júnah had a son by name Kar Ráhú, who had three sons, (1) Sánd, whose children were Rahúmá, Lákhátiah and Jakhrah (2) Súmrah and (3) Lákhah Jám. This last man had a son by name Káhah, whose son was Lákhah. After the death of Káhah, another son was born to him who was called Kárah after his own name.

* Kákepótás are descended from him.

† Kórejás are descended from him.

The above Lákhah son of Káhah had twelve sons:—

(1) Jám Júnah, from whom were descended the Sammah rulers of Sind, who became residents of Sámuí.* (2) Unar, who became the ruler of Bahriah and died without issue. (3) Palli, whose descendants are Phul Sammahs (4) Káhah, who is the ancestor of Sódiárí Sammahs. (5) Óthah, from whom were descended Sábah Sammah, Óthah Sammah and Sekhát Sammah (6) Jesar, whose children are called Bhayahpariá (7) Mangar, who had no issue (8) Abrah, whose descendants are known by the name of Abrójahs. (9) Hingórah Kaóur, who was the ancestor of Sahejahs (10) Sultán whose descendants were called Sultan Óth (11) Ráidan (12) Lákhah.

Of these the ninth son of Lákhah *vid.* Káhah, Hingórah Kaóur had three sons:—Desar, Manáhiah, Murádiah. Desar had five sons, Kahah, Hálah, Rukan, Hingórah and Júnah.

The eldest son of Lákhah *vid.* Káhah, Jám Júnah, the ancestor of the Sammah rulers of Sind had five sons:—Khóriah, Tájiah, Abrah, Balój and Bábinah. The children of this last son Babínah got an opportunity of ruling their country, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

CHAPTER V.†

Rise and fall of Súmrahs in Sind.

The Súmrah dynasty in Sind.

There has been an occasional mention in some places above, of the tribe of Súmrahs, and their probable origin from the town of Sámrah, from which place they are said to have emigrated to Sind in the fourth century of the Hijrah or tenth of the christian era, in the days of Khalífah Mamún Abbásí, along with the children of

* Sámuí takes its name from Sammahs. On the ruin of this town was built Kalánkót or Taghlakabád as will be seen below.

† This chapter is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

Tamím, who subsequently took the name of Thahím for their tribe. It has been calculated by some historians that their ascendancy dates from that time, continues to their fall at the hands of Sammahs, as will be described in the next chapter, and extends over a period of 505 years, in which are included the periods of the lieutenancy of agents of Ghazní and Ghór dynasties of kings.

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that in the year 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.), Ghází Malak took the army of Sind and Multán to Dehlí, dethroned Khusró Khán the last of the Ghazní kings and proclaimed himself the king of Dehlí, with the title of Ghayásuddín Taghlak Sháh. About that time, a large number of the Súmrah tribe assembled in the vicinity of Tharrí and taking a man by name Súmrah, as their leader, proclaimed him to be an independent chief of their tribe and country. With their assistance Súmrah soon secured a firm grasp of his principality and cleared the surrounding country of rebellious people. He then managed to marry a daughter of a big zamindár of the place. Her name was Sád. He got a son by her and he named him Bhúngar. At the death of Súmrah, Bhúngar succeeded him as the chief of his tribe. Bhúngar was again succeeded by his son Dódá, who extended his rule to Nasarpúr. After a successful reign, he died leaving a grown up daughter by name Tárí and a minor son by name Sanghár. For the time Tárí took the reins of Government. When Sanghár reached the age of maturity, he replaced his sister on the throne. This young chief made some invasions in the direction of Kachh and brought the country up to Náakaai* into his possession. At his death, as he had no issue, his widow Húnú, who was ruling in the fort of Adak managed to put her own brothers in possession of the towns of Muhammad Tùr and Tharrí.

About this period, the Súmrah chief Dódá was ruling his people at the castle of Dahkah. Considering the opportunity very favourable, he collected his kinsmen and caste-fellows, invaded the country of Húnú's brothers, and defeated and killed them. But soon afterwards, one Dádú Phattú, of the descendants of Dódá collected a large number of men and made himself the master of his fore-

* It is Hálá Kandi in the Tárikh Maasúmi.

father's country. After a quiet reign of some years he died and was succeeded by a chief named Khairá. After Khairá, one Armel became the ruler of the place. As he was a cruel-hearted person and treated his people very badly, some people of the tribe of Sammahs with Unar at their head, revolted against him and killed him in conspiracy with his ministers. The head of Armel was hung on the top of the gate of the fort and Unar was proclaimed their ruler. This occurred in 752 A.H (1351 A.D.). Thus the Government of Sind passed away from the hands of Súmrahs to those of Sammahs. According to the Muntakhib Tawárikh it was in 445 A.H. (1053 A.D.) that in the reign of Abdurrashíd son of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní, who was a weak prince, that the Súmrahs secured their independence and elected Súmrah as their chief. He was succeeded by a line of chiefs that are given below :—

			A.H.	A.D.
1.	Súmrah ...	... died	446 =	1054
2.	Bhúngar *bin* Súmrah	... „	461 =	1068 (After a reign of 15 years)
3.	Dódá *bin* Bhúngar	... „	485 =	1092 (24 years.)
4.	Sanghár ...	... „	500 =	1106 (15 years.)
5.	Khafif... ...	... „	536 =	1141 (36 years.)
6.	Umar	... „	576 =	1180 (40 years.)
7.	Dódá	... „	590 =	1193 (14 years.)
8.	Punhún ...	... „	623 =	1226 (33 years.)
9.	Khinrah ...	... „	639 =	1241 (16 years.)
10.	Muhammad Túr	... „	654 =	1256 (15 years.)
11.	Khinrah ...	... „	658 =	1259 (4 years.)
12.	Táí	... „	682 =	1283 (24 years.)
13.	Chanesar ...	... „	700 =	1300 (18 years.)
14.	Bhúngar ...	... „	715 =	1315 (15 years.)
15.	Khafíf	... „	733 =	1332 (18 years.)
16.	Dódá	... „	758 =	1356 (25 years.)
17.	Umar	... „	793 =	1390 (35 years.)
18.	Bhúngar ...	... „	803 =	1400 (10 years.)
19.	Hamír	...	(dethroned by Sammahs.)	

Some other causes of the fall of the Súmrah dynasty.

Some other stories are related about the causes which led to the downfall of the Súmrah government in Sind. Umar Súmrah, founder of Umarkót, was the last

chief but two of this line. He was guilty of two acts of misconduct that greatly exasperated the people and turned their feelings against him. One was his taking away by force a young and beautiful girl, by name Máruí, of the tribe of Márús, residents of the sandhills of Thar, who had already been betrothed to a kinsman of hers.* The other is a similar misconduct on the part of Umar with respect to a girl, by name Gangá,† of the tribe of Tamímís, who too had been previously engaged to a kinsman, who was one of the courtiers of Umar.‡ The injured relations of these girls are said to have taken their complaints to Sultán Aláuddín of Dehlí, who became very angry with Umar and took steps to remove him from his high position.

Hamír Súmrah, the last ruler, was a very cruel man. His behaviour was perhaps worse than his predecessors. Ráná Mendrah was his wazir. The love of the king and his wazir for the princess Múmal of the tribe of Gujar and the disagreement between them on this account is well known in Sind. § It took place about the close of the reign of the Súmrahs, and that, with some other events of the like nature, tended towards the downfall of their kingdom.

Chanesar (No. 13) was another of the last batch of Súmrah princes, whose misconduct with the beautiful princess Lílá, a daughter of ráná Khangár, who had been betrothed to her own cousin, formed a factor in the decline of that dynasty.‖

It was also in the reign of one of these Súmrah princes that Dalúrái, a descendant of the Hindú king of the same name, who was the founder of Dalúr or Alór, imitated the ruling Súmrah princes of his own time in immoral behavi-

* The tale of Umar and Máruí is sung in Sindhí verses. The details of the same are given in our life of Shah Abdullatíf Bhitái.

† By some called Káká.

‡ About the details of this story too see the account given in our life of Sháh Abdullatíf Bhitái.

§ About this story too, see the account given in our life of Shah Abdullatíf Bhitái.

‖ The tale of Lílá and Ghanesar is also given in our life of Shah Abdullátif.

our by attempting to seize Badíul Jamál the beloved wife of Saiful Mulúk, a princely merchant travelling through his city and brought down the wrath of God that reduced the ancient towns of Alór and Bhanbra (or Brahmanábád) to ruins.

Chhattah Amráni, a brother of Dalúrái, being offended with him for his misdemeanour came to Baghdád, took 100 Arabs of Sámrah under the leadership of Sayyed Alí Mú-awí, and came to Sind. After his arrival, his brother Dalúrái submitted to the Sayyed and gave him the hand of his daughter. The Sayyed preferred his residence at Lakallawí (Lakí) and his descendants are the Sayyeds of the place, still in existence. Sometimes this event is considered to be the origin of Súmrahs in Sind. Among other things some bad customs and habits of the people of that age also conduced in a measure to the loss of high position by the Súmrah chiefs of Sind. It is said that these chiefs used to brand their other relations and ordinary people's persons with a mark to show that they were all inferior to them. They themselves used to wear turbans, while they permitted the others only to use the warp of the web or half woven cloth instead ; for the sake of distinction. They likewise required the other people to cut off the nails of their hands and feet from their roots. They used clothes on their persons once only and did not get them washed to use them again. On the same principle, perhaps, they never approached women who had once given birth to a child and who therefore were obliged to lead a miserable life. Once it is said that a wise lady got her husband's sheets that he had thrown aside, washed by a washerman and kept the same scented with a sweet scent. When her husband required new sheets after a bath, the lady gave him the washed ones. The man was so much struck with the cleanness and softness of the clothes that he enquired from his wife as to how she had managed to get them for him. The wife then informed him that they were the same old dirty clothes that he had thrown away. She then showed to him the folly of the men in not using certain things that could still be very useful after some manipulation. Next she slowly explained to him the application of the same rule to women, who had been thrown aside, after giving birth to a child. By degrees these bad customs were given up by the people.

It is said that the Súmrahs were in the habit of drinking liquor and eating the flesh of buffaloes. One day some Súmrahs took away a young buffalo from the house of some Sammah in his absence. When the man returned home, his wife complained to him of what had happened and reproached him saying "To-day these Súmrahs have forcibly taken away a young buffalo from your houses, tomorrow they will take away your females." The man was much ashamed. He took the complaint before the heads of his tribe, collected a large gathering of men, killed some chief men of the Súmrahs and left the town.

Emigration of Sammahs from Sind to Kachh.

In short the Sammahs were very much ill-treated by the Súmrahs, who were the ruling class. They therefore made common cause and left Sind in a body and went to Kachh. The ruler of Kachh treated them kindly and at their request gave them a large tract of land for cultivation. In return the Sammahs were to give 500 cart-loads of grass annually, when the crops were raised. This annual assessment they continued giving for some years, during which time they learnt the ways of government and felt themselves strong enough to overpower an enemy. Then they began to lay a plot to seize the castle.

It is said that a Brahmin was posted at the gate of the castle and as he was an astrologer too he had the privilege of permitting men to enter or preventing them from entering the walls of the castle. Once upon a time, after the harvest was over, when these Sammahs brought the 500 carts of grass in the usual way, they concealed two brave armed men in each cart, in the midst of the grass. As the carts were admitted into the castle by the gate-keepers to deposit the hay in the appointed place, the Brahmin is said to have observed that he smelt or perceived raw flesh in the grass. But the door-keepers only laughed at the idea. However, as the Brahmin must not be disbelieved, some men thrust lances into some grass loads to test them. They say that the blades of the lances pierced the bodies of the men concealed in the grass and as they came out of their bodies they had courage enough to wipe them with their clothes and to send them out clean of their blood. This removed all

suspicion and all the carts were allowed to go in. During the next night, when all was silent in the castle, the armed men rushed out, stopped the gates, called their comrades outside the castle who were on the alert to join them, killed the ruler of Kachh and other occupants of the place and took possession of the fort. Since that time these Sammahs and their descendants have been a ruling class in Kachh.

Emigration of Súmrahs from Sind.

It has been said above that complaints were taken to Sultán Aláuddín of Dehlí against the Súmrahs and he was induced to invade their country and punish them for their cruelties. Accordingly Sultán Aláuddín or his general Sálár Khán came to Sind with an army. The Súmrahs prepared to sell their lives very dear. At the suggestion of a party of Chárans (or bards) who enjoyed respect and confidence of both the tribes, the Súmrahs sent up their women and children to Kachh under the protection of Abrah Sammah the chief of the Sammahs in that part of the country and themselves lay in wait to fight with the Sultán's army. Sapar Súmrah was then the headman of the Súmrah tribe. Under his command therefore the Súmrahs arranged themselves for a battle. But they were soon defeated and driven out and their leader was killed. They were therefore obliged to leave their chief town of Muhammad Túr and go to Kachh, whither they had already sent their families. But in that they had reckoned without their host. For, as soon as their familes arrived in Kachh, Abrah Sammah caught them in a trap and fell upon them in a murderous manner. On their flight to Kachh, the men themselves were pursued by their enemy, the Sultán's army, who only joined the Sammahs of the place in attacking them. The Súmrahs did sell their lives very dear, for they died while fighting, with the exception of a few men who escaped.

During this confusion it is said that a few young virgins of the Súmrah tribe fell into the hands of the Sultán's army. Being hard pressed by them and determined to save their chastity, they prayed to God, and the ground under them immediately cracked and engulphed them. The spot is still visited by people, who are shown remnants of their veils that are believed to have been left behind as dumb witnesses of their disappearance.

In short, the tribe of Súmrahs was thus extirpated from Sind and their chief town of Muhammad Túr made desolate by the plunderous hands of the army of the Sultán of Dehlí. The Sammahs who succeeded the Súmrahs built new towns near it, *viz* :—Sámuí and others, and considered the old site of Muhammad Túr, which was situated in the parganah of Darak as a cursed and an unlucky spot.

CHAPTER VI.*

The Sammah dynasty in Sind.

The Sammah Jáms or rulers of Sind.

We have spoken elsewhere of the origin of the Sammahs and their going to Kachh and gaining a firm footing there. We have also seen how the Súmrahs were driven away from Sind. The field was now clear for the Sammahs, the original residents who took possession of the country and raised their headman and chief, Unar, to the throne with the title of Jám as has been mentioned.

Jám Unar *bin* Bábínah.

It was in 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.) that Jám Unar son of Bábínah was proclaimed the ruler of Sind. In a very short time Jám Unar was sufficiently strong to attack Sehwán. Malak Ratan, a Turk, was at that time the governor of the place, on behalf of the king of Dehlí. He came out to meet Jám Unar and defeated him in a battle; but the next day Jám Unar returned to fight with redoubled force. He defeated Malak Ratan, who accidentally falling from his horse fell into the hands of his enemy, who cut off his head with a blow. The fort of Sehwán was then soon taken. On returning to his capital Jám Unar began to lead a luxurious life. One day while he was drunk, information was received of some rising at a short distance. The Jám deputed his agent Káhah son of Tamáchí to put down the rebellion. As Káhah himself was in an intoxicated state, he was soon taken prisoner by the mob. Jám Unar was so busy in his profligacies that he had no time to think of his agent's release.

* This chapter is taken from the Tárikh Maasúmí.

Naturally Káhah was much annoyed at his master's want of sympathy. He managed to effect an escape, and leaving the side of Jám Unar for good, came to Bakhar and joined Alí Sháh and Malak Feróz Tartars, and bringing them to Bahrámpur got Jám Unar killed. Some say that Alí Sháh and Malak Feróz had already started from Bakhar to be avenged on Jám Unar for his taking the fort of Sehwán and killing Malak Ratan. After 3 days, however, the Sammahs killed Káhah and Malak Feróz, Alí Sháh having already gone back to Bakhar. Jám Unar reigned for 3 years and 6 months. He was succeeded by his brother Júnah.

Jám Júnah bin Bábínah.

Jám Júnah came to the throne in 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.) He soon appointed some of his kinsmen to carry on warfare in different quarters of the country, in order to bring the whole of it under his subjection. They crossed the river at Tattá* and began to lay waste the villages at the borders of Bakhar. Twice or thrice engagements took place between the Sammahs and the Tartar forces of Bakhar. These ended in the defeat of the Tartars, who were obliged to leave Bakhar and go to Uch. On their departure Jám Unar lost no time in taking possession of Bakhar. About this time Sultán Aláuddín, the king of Dehlí, deputed his brother Ulugh Khán to be the ruler of Multán, and the latter sent his generals Malak Tájuddín Káfúrí and Tátár Khán against Sind. But before this invading army arrived in Sind Jám Júnah expired, after a reign of 13 years.

Jám Tamáchí bin Jám Unar and Jám Khairuddín bin Tamáchí.

Jám Júnah was succeeded by his nephew Jám Tamáchí. Meanwhile the army of Sultán Aláuddín arrived in the vicinity of Bakhar, reconquered that fort and prepared to go to Sehwán. A fight took place between them and the Sammahs, in which the latter were defeated and Jám Tamáchí with his whole family was taken prisoner and carried to Dehlí, where he had to live for many years and where he got many children.

In the absence of their ruler, the Sammahs lived quietly round about Tharrí under Jám Tamáchí's brother Bábínah

*The Tuhfatulkirám says at Talti.

son of Jám Unar, as their headman.* After some years, Khairuddín son of Jám Tamáchí, who in his infancy had gone with his father to Dehlí, was after his father's death permitted to return to Sind and be the chief of his tribe. Accordingly Jám Khairuddín came and took the helm of the government of his father's country.

In a short time Sultán Muhammad Sháh Taghlak came to Sind *viá* Gujrát, in pursuit of the rebel Tághí, as has been mentioned above.

Muhammad Sháh wanted to see Jám Khairuddín, but the latter avoided meeting him, as he had for years remained a prisoner with him. Shortly afterwards, Muhammad Sháh died in the vicinity of Tattá and was succeeded by Feróz Sháh, who hastened to Dehlí without tarrying in Sind. Jam Khairuddín followed him up to Sann near Sehwán and then returned to his capital and commenced ruling the country quietly and justly. An example of his justice may be given here.

It is said that one day, going with a cavalcade, he happened to pass through a desert, where he saw a heap of human bones. He halted there for a few minutes and remarked to his followers that the bones were appealing to him for a just enquiry into their case. He at once sent for an old man living in a neighbouring village and by making minute enquiries from him and others came to know that some seven years before that a party of travellers coming from Gujrát to Sind had been robbed and murdered by a certain band of robbers. He then secured some of the property of which they had been robbed, together with the robbers. He sent the same to the ruler of Gujrát in order that the robbers be punished by him and the property returned to the heirs of the owners.

Jám Bábínah *bin* Jám Khairuddín.

At his death Jám Khairuddín was succeeded by his son Bábínah. Soon after this change, Sultán Feróz Sháh invaded Sind after completely subjugating Gujrát and some other parts of Hindustán. Jám Bábínah prepared to meet him in an open field. For three months

* This period is calculated at 15 years by the author of the Tuhfatul-kirám.

Feróz Sháh carried on this warfare and then being troubled by mosquitoes and floods and strong winds, he returned to Gujrát and other open plains to spend the rainy season there. Then he came back with a stronger force and the fighting again commenced. At last Jám Bábínah was taken prisoner and the whole of Sind fell into Feróz Sháh's hands. The Sultán returned to Dehlí with the prisoner. There the Jám remained for some time in the service of the king, and pleased his captor to such a degree that he gave him a dress of honour and sent him back to Sind as a ruler. After a rule of 11 years in all, Jám Bábínah breathed his last.*

Jám Tamáchí *bin* Jám Khairuddín.

Jám Tamáchí was the successor of his brother Jám Bábínah. His was a very peaceful reign which lasted for 13 years.†

Jám Saláhuddín *bin* Jám Tamáchí.

Jám Saláhuddín was the successor of his father Jám Tamáchí. He put down revolts in some parts of the country, by sending forces in those directions and punished the ringleaders. Some of these unruly bands fled to Kachh, to which place Jám Saláhuddín pursued them, and in every engagement that took place he defeated them and ultimately subjugated them. After a reign of 11 years‡ and some months, he departed from this world. §

---

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám he reigned for 15 years. The town of Sámui is said to have been built by this Jám. Some say the foundation stone had been laid by Jám Bábínah son of Umar.

† It was this Jám Tamáchí who had fallen in love with the fisher woman, Núrain of the caste of Gandrah, residing on the bank of Lake Kinjhur. He married her and built palaces for her. The tombs of these lovers can still be seen on the Maklí Hills near the mausoleum of Shekh Himád Jamáli, a saint of that period. Their loves are sung in Sindhí verses. The account is given in our life of Sháh Abdullatíf Bhitái.

‡ 15 years according to the Tuhfatulkirám.

§ The author of the Hadíkatul Aolia states that Jám Júnah, Jám Tamáchí and his son Jám Saláhuddín had been sent as prisoners to Dehlí but were set at liberty through the blessings of the living saint Shekh Himád Jamáli, and that they occupied the throne of Sind in succession.

After Jám Saláhuddín's death the nobles of the state put his son Jám Nizámuddín on the throne. His first act of kindness was the release of his cousins* Sikandar, Karn and Baháuddín and A'mar, who had been placed in captivity by the advice of the ministers. He appointed every one of them as an officer to discharge administrative duties in different places, while he himself remained in the capital, superintending the work done by them and other officials in different quarters of the country. Before long, however, his cousins, very ungratefully made a conspiracy among themselves and stealthily coming to the capital attempted to seize him. But Jám Saláhuddín learning their intention in time, left the place at the dead of night with a handful of men and made his escape to Gujrát. In the morning, men were sent after him, but before any information could be brought about him, the people summoned Alísher son of Jám Tamáchí who was living in obscurity, and raised him to the throne. Meanwhile Jám Nizámuddín also died in his flight and his cousins too being disappointed in every thing, lived roving lives.

Jám Nizámuddín *bin* Jám Saláhuddín.

Jám Alísher was a wise man and a brave soldier. He ruled the country very discreetly and in his time the people were all at ease in their minds. This prince is said to have been very fond of going about on moonlight nights. Tamáchí's other sons Sikandar and Karn, and Fateh Khán son of Sikandar, who had brought ruin on the last Jám, were now conspiring against Jám Alísher. They were therefore looking for an opportunity to fall upon him while he was out enjoying the moonlight as usual. They spent their time in the forests in the vicinity of the town. One Friday night, on the 13th of the lunar month, they took a band of cut-throats with them, and with naked swords attacked Jám Alísher who had come out in a boat to enjoy the moonlight on the quiet surface of the river and was returning home. They killed him, and red-handed they ran to the city, where the people had no help for it but to place one of them, Karn, on the vacant throne. The reign of Jám Alísher lasted for 7 years.

Jám Alísher *bin* Jám Tamáchí.

* The Tuhfatulkirám says they were his uncles, which is correct.

As might be imagined, the nobles of the state were not in favour of this bloody prince. Perceiving this, Jám Karn determined to slay some and capture others. With this object in view he invited a large number of people to an entertainment. Among these came a few persons with the secret object of assassinating him. While Jám Karn was going to his closet these men assaulted him and killed him. This occurred on the first or second day of his accession.

Jám Karn *bin* Jám Tamáchi.

Jám Karn was succeeded by his nephew Jám Fateh Khán. He ruled quietly for some time and gave satisfaction to the people in general.

Jám Fateh Khán *bin* Sikandar.

About this time, Mirzá Pír Muhammad one of Amír Taimúr Kúrkán's* grand sons came to Multán and conquered that town and Uch. As he made a long stay there, most of the horses with him died of a disease and his horsemen were obliged to move about as foot-soldiers. When Amír Taimúr heard of this, he sent 30,000 horses from his own stables to his grand son to enable him to extend his conquests. Mirzá Pír Muhammad, being thus equipped, attacked those of the zamindárs, who had threatened to do him harm and destroyed their household property. He then sent a messenger to Bakhar calling the chief men of the place to come and pay respects to him. But these men fearing his vengeance left the place in a body and went to Jesalmer. Only one solitary person, Sayyed Abulghais, one of the pious Sayyeds of the place, went to visit the Mirzá. He interceded for his town-people in the name of his great grandfather, the Prophet, and the Mirzá accepted his intercession. They say that on a previous night the Prophet Muhammad had appeared to him in a dream and pointing at Sayyed Abulghais, who was standing near him, had recommended him to his kindness as his child, and that after 11 days the Sayyed came to visit him in an open *darbár*, where he recognized him and embracing him seated him by his side. At the time of the Sayyed's departure Mirzá Pír Muhammad gave him a horse and some other presents, and granted him the parganah of Alór as a jágír.

* Called Sáhib Kirán.

Mirzá Pír Muhammad soon went to Dehlí, which place he took and where he was crowned as a king by the nobles of the state. Multán remained in the hands of Langáhs, and Sind in those of the Sammah rulers as before.

In short, Jám Fateh Khán reigned successfully for 15 years and some months, and then left this world.

Jám Taghlak *bin* Sikandar.

Three days before his death, while he was lying on death-bed, Jám Fateh Khán seated his brother Taghlak on his throne. Jám Taghlak was fond of hunting and he left his brothers to administer the affairs of state at Sehwán and Bakhar. In his reign some Balóch raised the standard of revolt in the outskirts of Bakhar, but Jám Taghlak marched in the direction and punished their ring-leaders and appointed an outpost in each purganah to prevent any future rebellion of the kind. He died after a reign of 28 years.

Jám Sikandar *bin* Jám Taghlak.

Jám Sikandar, the late Jám's son, was a minor when he succeeded his father to the throne. The governors of Sehwán and Bakhar, therefore, shook off their yoke, and prepared to take offensive steps. Jám Sikandar was obliged to march out from Tattá to Bakhar. When he came as far as Nasarpúr, a man by name Mubárak, who during the last Jám's reign had made himself celebrated for acts of bravery, proclaimed himself king under the name of Jám Mubárak.* But as the people were not in league with him, he was driven away within 3 days and information sent to Jám Sikandar, who made peace with his opponents and hastened to Tattá. After a year and a half, he died.

Jám Ráinah. †

Jám Sikandar was succeeded by Jám Ráinah. This man lived in the outskirts of Kachh in the reign of Jám Taghlak, having

---

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám Mubárak was the curtain-keeper of the late Jám Taghlak.

† It is Ráidinah, in the Tuhfatulkirám, which is the full and correct name.

left Sind on the 6th of Jamádi-ul-awwal, 758 A.H. (1356 A.D.). By his kind behaviour he had become a leader of a large number of men in that quarter. When he heard of the death of Jám Sikandar he came to Tattá and informed the people that he had not come for the throne, but to assist his countrymen in the protection of their persons and property; that he did not consider himself worthy of such a high and responsible post, and that he was ready to pay homage to anyone who would be elected by them to be their ruler. But as there was no better claimant to the throne, the people with one voice selected Ráinah to be the Jám of Sind.

Within a year and a half after his accession to the throne, Jám Ráinah completly secured the whole of Sind from the sea-shore to the town of Kájreli and Kandeli (or Kandi) in the parganah of Máthelah.*

In the ninth year of his reign, one Sanjar, who was one of the king's chief *attachés*, treacherously endeavoured to obtain the crown. So he entered into a league with some other courtiers, and on the occasion of an entertainment, he mixed poison in a cup of liquor and administered the same to Jám Ráinah, who died after three days from its effect.

Jám Sanjar.

On Ráinah's death, Sanjar became the Jám of Sind. He is said to have been a very handsome person, and on that account was constantly attended by a large number of persons, who took pleasure in remaining in his company. It is believed that before his coming to the throne, a pious fakír had been very fond of him; that one day Sanjar informed him that he had a very strong desire to become the king of Tattá though it should be for not more than 8 days; and that the fakír had given him his blessings, telling him that he would be the king of the place for 8 years.

Jám Sanjar ruled the country very wisely. Under no ruler before this had the people of Sind enjoyed such ease

* In the Tuhfatulkirám, it is Máthelah and Ubáorah.

of mind. He was very fond of the company of the learned and the pious. Every Friday he used to distribute charities and had fixed periodical allowances for those who deserved the same. He increased the pay of responsible officers. One Kází Maarúf, who had been appointed by the late rulers to be the Kází of Bakhar, was in the habit of receiving bribes from the plaintiffs as well as from the defendants. When this fact came to the notice of Jám Sanjar, he sent for the Kází and asked him about it. The Kází admitted the whole thing. "Yes" said he "I do demand something from the plaintiffs as well as the defendants, and I am anxious to get something from the witnesses too, but before the case closes, they go away and I am disappointed in that." Jám Sanjar could not help laughing at this. The Kází continued "I work in the court for the whole day and my wife and children die of hunger at home, because I get very little pay." Jám Sanjar increased his pay and issued general orders for the increase of every government post of importance. After a successful reign of 8 years Jám Sanjar died in 896 A.H. (1490 A.D.)

Jám Nizámuddín (*alias* Jám Nindó) *bin* Bábinah.

On the 25th of Rabí-ul-awwal Jám Nizámuddín was elected to the throne by the joint counsels of all the wise and pious men of the place as well as of the military people. He was known by the nick-name of Jám Nindó.*

In the beginning of his reign Jám Nizámuddín was very fond of literature and often spent his time in libraries. He was a very obliging man and an industrious person. He was very regular in his prayers and was very religious. In his days mosques were always full at the time of prayers. Shortly after his accession, he went from Tattá to Bakhar, where he spent about a year, during which time he extirpated the freebooters and robbers, who had annoyed the people in that part of the country. He filled the fort of Bakhar with plenty of provisions and then left the place in charge of his house-born slave Dilshád and himself returned to his capital, where he reigned quietly for long

* According to thd Túhfatulkirám, Jám Nizámuddín (or Nindó) was the son of Bábinah son of Unar son of Saláhuddín son of Tamáchí.

long years. In his time the people enjoyed every sort of comfort and rest. Even travellers could travel through different parts of Sind without any one doing harm to their person or property. He contracted friendship with the ruler of Multán and the two often used to correspond with and send presents to each other. He visited his stables regularly every week and passed his hand over the forehead of his horses and said "O lucky beings, I do not wish to ride you in order to fight with others. On all the four sides of us we have Mussalman rulers. May God never give us any cause other than in accordance with the religious law, to go elsewhere, or others to come here, lest innocent blood of Mussalmans be shed and I be ashamed in the august presence of God."

In the last part of Jám Nindó's reign, a Mughul army under Shábbeg came from Kandhár invading the town of Ágrí, Chándukah, Sindichah and Kót Máchián. Jám Nindó sent a large army* which arriving at the village known by the name of Halúkhar, defeated the Mughuls in a single pitched battle in which Shábbeg's brother Abú Muhammad Mirzá was killed and the Mughuls fled back to Kandhár† and never made their appearance again during the reign of Jám Nizámuddín.

Jám Nizámuddín was very fond of the company of learned men, with whom he often took pleasuse in discussing literary subjects. A learned man of Shíráz, Jaláluddín Muhammad Dwáni had come from Persia to Sind and had sent his two worthy pupils Mír Shamsuddín and Mír Muín to Tattá in order that they should arrange for his sojourn there. Jám Nizámuddín learning the intention of the Persian *savánt* ordered some good houses to be fitted up for his reception and sent his two pupils with a large sum of money for expenses of the journey, ordering them to bring the learned man. But before their arrival their master had died. Mír Shamsuddín and Mír Muín therefore came back to Tattá and took up their abode at

---

* Under the command of Daryá Khán as in the Tuhfatulkirám.

† According to the Tuhfatulkirám the Mughuls were pursued by the Jám's troops up to Siwi (Sibi).

the place. After some time Jám Nizámuddín died after a splendid reign of 48 years*.

Jám Feróz bin Jám Nizámuddín.

Jám Nizámuddín was succeeded by his minor son Jám Feróz. Owing to his minority, Daryá Khán, whom the late Jám had called his son, came forward as his guardian. In fact it was through the exertions of Daryá Khán and other chief courtiers of the late Jám that Jám Feróz was put on the throne against the attempts of Saláhuddín, a grandson of Jám Sanjar, who was the first claimant to it. Being thus disappointed Saláhuddín went about inciting people to revolt and causing some other mischief. Ultimately he went to Gujrát to live with his son-in-law Sultán Muzaffar.†

Jám Feróz was a young man, and as from the commencement the management of the state affairs was in the hands of his guardian he spent his time in his *harem* and seldom went out. Whenever he went out he gave him-

---

* According to various writers the period of this Jám's reign was 73 or 63 or 43 years but the correct one seems to be between 43 and 50 years, as is mentioned in the Tuhfatulkirám, which gives the date of his death as 914 A. H. (1508 A. D.)

In the Tuhfatulkirám some other events are also given in this Jám's reign. It is said there that in the beginning of his reign he shifted his seat of government from the old town of Sámni to a new one built by him, of which the site is still visible.

Talking about the religiousness and piety of this Jám, the author of the above book writes that at the death of Kázi Abdulláh, whose remains rest on the Makli Hill, behind the tomb of Shekh Himád Jamáli he appeared in a dream to a good man and asked him to allow that man only to conduct his funeral prayers, who had never looked up to the skies without having performed ablusions or in an unpurified state, or who had never seen the nakedness of any other person, not even his own; and that after a long search Jám Nizámuddín alone was found qualified for this holy office.

A story of his justice like that mentioned in the account of Jám Khairuddín, regarding the capture of robbers at the sight of dead bones is also stated in reference to this Jám in Risálai Kutbiyyah.

† Sultan Muzaffar was the first ruler of Gujrát, on behalf of Muhammad Sháh son of Feróz Sháh of Dehlí, and he came to the throne in 793 A. H. He was succeeded by 10 other rulers, the last also being Sultán Muzaffar by name, after whom the government of Gujrát pasad to the hands of the emperor Akbar.

self up to the enjoyment of the songs and dances of dancing girls and the jokes of jesters. In his time the Sammahs and their Kháskhelís (slaves) troubled the ordinary people very much, and if Daryá Khán checked them they spoke ill of him. Daryá Khán was therefore obliged to resign his post and to come to Káhán, which was his Jágír. In that village lived the most learned men of the time, Makhdúm Abdul Azíz Abharí, Maoláná Asíruddín Abharí and his son Maoláná Muhammad. They had come from Herát in 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.) when king Ismáil was expelled. These savants had since been teaching the ignorant and improving the manners and morals of the people in general. Maoláná Asíruddín was well read in the religious law and had written many books on history and other learned sciences. He had written commentaries on many difficult books. He died also at Káhán where his tomb is still visited by people.

In short, owing to the misbehaviour of Jám Feróz and his disregard of state affairs, the people wrote a letter to Saláhuddín informing him that Jám Feróz was often indifferent to their wishes and wants, that Daryá Khán, who was the best manager of affairs had also left him and gone to Káhán and that it was a good opportunity for him to come. When Saláhuddín got this letter from the people of Tattá, he showed it to Sultán Muzaffar, king of Gujrát, who sent him with a large army to Tattá. He arrived near the place after hurried marches and crossed over to the town. Meanwhile the people managed to take Jám Feróz out of the town by another way. Thus Jám Saláhuddín quietly went and occupied the throne. The Kháskhelís captured Jám Feróz and would not release him until they got a large sum of money. His mother then brought Jám Feróz to Daryá Khán at Káhán, where in his presence he repented of his past doings and asked his pardon. Daryá Khán remembered his old privileges and determined to move in the matter. He began to collect an army and soon the people of Bakhar and Sehwán assembled under Jám Feróz's standard. The tribes of Balóch also turned towards him.

Having thus arrayed his forces Daryá Khán proceeded to meet Jám Saláhuddín. The latter wanted to anticipate his adversary, but his wazír Háji advised him to remain

where he was and to depute him to go and fight with his enemy. Jám Saláhuddín agreed to this proposal. Shortly after this the battle commenced and many a brave soldier was killed on both sides. After all Daryá Khán was defeated and his army fled. Wazír Hají, while still on his horse, wrote a letter to his master informing him of his victory. As it was night, he could not pursue the flying forces of the enemy. The messengers with the letters fell into the hands of Daryá Khán, who instantly prepared other letters of a different nature on behalf of wazír Hají containing the news of the defeat of Saláhuddín's army and the advice that as the enemy was strong, he (Saláhuddín) should leave Tattá with his family and children and that he would meet him at the village of Cháchikán.* On receipt of these letters, Jám Saláhuddín left the place and crossed the river on the 9th of Ramazán without waiting to break the fast, which he had observed in that holy month. He was thus finally defeated and deprived of his kingdom The period of his reign was 8 months. Latterly when the Jám met Hají wazír and the latter reproachingly enquired the reason of his abruptly leaving his capital, Jám Saláhuddín produced the letter he had received and showed it to him. Hají in surprise denied the fact of having written it. They at once understood that Daryá Khán had played the trick. For this they felt much annoyed but it was too late now and they suffered great remorse.

Daryá Khán pursued them to several stages, and then returning, he brought Jám Feróz to Tattá on the holiday of Ramazán I'd and offered joint prayers at the public prayer-ground. From that time Jám Feróz continued to reign quietly for several years.

Though Jám Feróz reigned undisturbed now, he entertained secret fears of Daryá Khán. As a precautionary measure he enlisted in his service Kíbak Arghún and a large number of men belonging to the tribes of Mughuls, who had during his reign, left Sháhbeg Arghún and came to Tattá. Jám Feróz gave them the quarter of the town, called Mughal-Wárah to live in. He secretly flattered

* Also called Cháchik an old village in the parganah of Badin and Jim (Tuhfatulkirám).

himself for his policy in securing the services of intrepid men to check Daryá Khán, but he never for a minute imagined what ruin these very men were destined to bring on him. For, it was through some of these men that Sháhbeg Argún was induced to invade and conquer Sind in 926 A.H. (1519 A.D.), which resulted in the displacement of the Sammah dynasty of rulers by that of Arghún. The account of this invasion will be given in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VII.*

The Arghún Dynasty.

The family or tribe of Arghún is descended from Changez Khán; thus:—

Descendants of Changez Khán and Amír Taimúr Kúrkán Sáhib Kirán.

Arghún Khán son of Abáká Khán son of Halákú Khán son of Túlí Khán son of Changez Khán†. And as we shall soon meet with references to Taimúr and Bábar and some other well known members of the family, it would not be out of place to mention here how these men were related to one another.

Changez Khán† had four sons (1) Jújí Khán, who was made the ruler of Kabchák and Bulghár (2) Chighatá Khán, the ruler of Máwará-unnahr (*i.e.*, Transoxania or Khurásán) and Turkistán (3) Oktái Káán, whom his father made his heir-apparent and (4) Túlí Khán, whom he retained as his attendant. Changez Khán died in 624 A.H, (1244 A.D.) at the age of 73 and after a reign

---

* This chapter is taken from the Tárikh Maasúmí except the first para, which is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

† Changez Khán came to the throne in 599 A.H. (=1202 A.D.) There were 15 kings in all, in this line up to Amír Taimúr; thus:—

(1) Changez Khán (2) Oktái Káán (his son, who came to the throne in 624 A.H.) (3) Kewak Khán (4) Mankú Káán (5) Halákú Khán (or El Khán) (6) Abá Káán (7) Nakúdár (8) Arghún Khán (9) Tóela Káán (10) Kunjátó Khán (11) Báidu Khán (12) Kházán Khán (13) Aljáitó Khán (Khudá Bandah) (14) Abú Saíd Bahádúr Khán (15) Amír Taimúr Sáhib Kirán.

of 25 years. There are six branches of his children who became rulers in different parts of his vast empire :—

(i) The rulers of Ulugh Yurat, who were 15 in number :—

Oktaí Káán, his son Kewak Khán, Mankú Káán son of Túlí Khán, Kublá Khán son of Túlí Khán, Taimúr Káán (Aljáitó) and others.

(ii) The rulers of Kabchák, who were 39 in number :—

Júji Khán, his son Bátú Khán and others, including Uzbak Khán, the ancestor of the tribe of Uzbak.

(iii) The rulers of Irán (Persia), who were 15 in number :—

HALA'KU KHA'N son of Túlí Khán, his sons Ibáká Khán and Ahmad Khán; ARGHU'N KHA'N son of Ibáká Khan and others, including Gházán Khán son of Arghún Khán, who became convert to Islám and got the name of Sultán Mahmúd.

(iv) The rulers of Túrán (Turcomania or Scythia), who were 34 in number :—

Chighatái Khán and others, the last being Sultán Mahmúd who was contemporary with Amír Taimúr Kúrkán.

(v) The princes of the branch of SHAIBA'NIAH, who were descended from Júji Khán and ruled in Túrán. They were 19 in number. Their army was called UZBAKIAH.

(vi) The rulers of Káshghar, who were descended from Chighatái Khán. They were 19 in number.

As for Amír Taimúr* Kúrkán known by the title of Sahíb Kirán, he was descended from Tomnah Khán, who was the fourth ancestor of Changez Khán; thus, Taimúr son of Tarághái son of Burkal son of Elankar Bahádur, Ejal Núyán son of Karájár Núván, son of Sárseján, son of Erómji Barlás son of Kájuli Bahádur son of Tómnah Khan.†

---

* They have made it Tamerlane in English books.

† Amír Taimúr was the fifteenth king of the line, the head of which was Changez Khán, as may be seen in a previous note.

The following were the descendants of Amír Taimúr who ruled in Irán and Túrán :—

(1) Mírán Sháh Mirza son of Amír Taimúr, who in his father's life-time held the two Iráks, A'zarbáiján, Dayárbakar and Syria.*

(2) Umar Mírzá son of Mírán Sháh,

(3) Abábakr Mírzá son of Mírán Sháh,

(4) Sháhrukh Mírzá son of Abábakr, who in his father's time held Khurásán,

(5) Khalíl Mírzá son of Mírán Sháh, who got Samarkand as his province,

(6) Ulughbeg Mírzá son of Sháhrukh,

(7) Abdul-latíf Mírzá son of Ulughbeg,

(8) Aláuddaolah Mirzá son of Báisankar son of Sháhrukh,

(9) Sultán Muhammad Mírzá son of Báisankar,

(10) Báber Mírzá son of Báisankar,

(11) Abdulláh Mírzá son of Ibráhím son of Sháhrukh.

(12) Sháh Mahmúd Mírzá son of Báber,

(13) Ibráhím Mírzá son of Aláuddaolah,

(14) SULTA'N ABU' SAI'D MI'RZA' son of Sultán Muhammad son of Mírán Sháh son of Amír Taimúr.

(15) Umar Shekh Mírzá son of Sultán Abú Saíd,

(16) Sultán Muhammad Mírzá son of Sultán Abú Saíd.

(17) BA'BER MI'RZA' son of Umar Shekh,

(18) YA'DGA'R MUHAMMAD MI'RZA' son of Sultán Muhammad son of Báisankar,

(19) SULTA'N HUSAIN MI'RZA' son of Mansúr son of Báisankar descended from Umar Shekh Mírzá son of Amír Taimúr,

(20) BADI'-UZZAMA'N MI'RZA' son of Sultán Husain,

(21) MUZAFFAR HUSAIN MI'RZA'† son of Sultán Husain. The last two, who were brothers ruled jointly at Khurásán, till they were driven away by Sháhbeg Arghún who came from Transoxania.

---

* Sometimes Mírzá is prefixed to this and other names of princes.

† Important names that are referred to in these pages are given in capitals for easy reference.

Origin of Arghún Dynasty.

Sháhbeg Arghún with whom we are concerned for the present was the son of Amír Zunnún son of Mír Hasan Basrí,* who was a descendant of Arghún Khán (see above, Branch iii.) This Amír Zunnún was one of the warlike leaders under Sultán Abú Saíd Mírzá (No. 14). He spent some time at Hirát, in the company of his father, under Sultán Yádgár Mírzá (No. 18) and then he went to Samarkand where he spent two or three years. After the quarrel that took place between Tarkhán and Arghún chiefs, Zunnún came back to Khurásán, where Sultán Husain Mírzá (No. 19) took him under his patronage and made him the governor of the districts of Ghór and Dáwar. Here he had to fight with the tribes of Hazárah and Takdarí whom he defeated in several battles, in 884 A. H. (1479 A. D.) and three succeeding years, and brought them completely under his subjection. Sultán Husain was so much pleased with him that he entrusted the absolute government of Kandhár, Hirát and Ghór to him, and Amír Zunnún fixed his residence at Shál and Mastóng and ruled the provinces ceded to him.

The reign of Amír Zunnún Arghún.

As Amír Zunnún strengthened himself with the tribes of Hazárah and Takdarí and Kabchák, Sultán Husain Mírzá, and his son Badí-uzzamán Mírzá (No. 20) became jealous of him and tried to weaken his power. Zunnún, coming to know of the Sultan's intentions, left his capital with his two sons Sháhbeg and Muhammad Mukim and his brother Mír Sultán Alí and went to Kandhár. Soon after, Badíuzzamán had a rupture with his father and he went to Kandhár, where Zunnún received him well and tried his best to conciliate his feelings. Their friendship was sealed by the marriage between Badíuzzamán and Zunnún's eldest daughter to the chagrine of Shekh Alí Taghai and some other chiefs of the Mírzá, who were against the union.

Badíuzzamán's son Mírzá Muhammad Mómin was at Astarábád, when Badíuzzamán himself had gone to Kandhár. In his absence, Badíuzzamán's brother Muzaffar Husain Mírzá (No. 21) led an army against his nephew at

* In the Tuhfatulkirám it is Mír Hasan Misrí, which appears to be correct.

Astarábád. The latter fought bravely in his defence with his uncle, but was taken prisoner and sent to Hirát in 903 A.H. (1497 A.D.). While in confinement he was murdered at the instigation of Muzaffar Husain's mother and under his order, issued in an intoxicated state.

His fighting with Sultán Husain Mirzá on behalf of Mirzá Badíuzzamán.

When Badíuzzamán Mírzá heard of his son's sad death, he began to prepare to take revenge with the co-operation of Amír Zunnún Arghún. This led Sultán Husain to come with a large army to Kandhár. But before his arrival, Zunnún prepared for assistance in the fort of Pishang, and posted his sons Sháhbeg and Muhammad Mukím in the forts of Kandhár and Dáwar respectively, while Mírzá Badíuzzamán occupied a fourth stronghold. They had prearranged to help one another, in case of necessity. When Sultán Husain came to Kandhár he could not find provisions for his army; consequently he was obliged to return to Hirát, without doing anything.

After some time, Mírzá Badíuzzamán and Sháhbeg led an army of three or four thousand men against Sultán Husain, at Lank Nishín, but they were defeated and repulsed by the Sultán. Badíuzzamán fled to Ghór and Sháhbeg to Dáwar, and Sultán Husain returned to Hirát. This was in the month of Shuabán 900 A.H. (1494 A.D.).

In 904 A.H. (1498 A.D.) reconciliation was brought about between the Sultán and Mírzá Badíuzzamán and Amír Zunnún, through the intercession of some pious Shekhs and Sayyeds, and the province of Sístán was ceded to Badíuzzamán, who therefore left Ghór and went to his new state. But when Sultán Husain went to Astarábád, Badíuzzamán and Zunnún invaded Hirát, plundered the place and defeated the forces of the chiefs of the place. Soon hearing that Sultán Husain was coming with an army, they withdrew to the river Murghán.

Here he was joined by Sháhbeg from Kandhár, who went and took Marw making Parindahbeg, the governor of the fort on behalf of the Sultán, a prisoner. Sultán Husain returning from Astarábád and feeling unprepared to fight against his son, deputed an envoy to him who again brought about reconciliation between them. By

this, Balkh was ceded to Badíuzzamán, who went to that part of the country, Zunnún and Sháhbeg returning to Kandhár after leaving Sístán in the hands of Zunnún's brother Sultán Alí Arghún.

In 908 A.H. (1502 A.D.) in response to the secret messages of some of the rebels of Sístán, Sultán Husain Mírzá sent another son of his with a large army to Sístán. This prince came to Uk, where Zunnún and Sháhbeg met him with their hordes of Tarkhán, Arghún, Takdarí and Hazárah tribes from one side, and Sultán Alí with his sons from another. The prince, being thus pressed hard, left the battlefield and fled back to Hirát. Amír Zunnún returned to Sístán successfully and thence he went to Kandhár.

Zunnún's son Muhammad Mukím takes Kábul but soon surrenders to Báber Mírzá.

About this time, Ulughbeg Mírzá son of Abú Saíd Mírzá who held Kábul, died and was succeeded by his minor son Abdurraúf Mírzá, who was soon attacked and killed by some of the rebel chiefs. Considering this a favourable opportunity, Zunnún's younger son Mírza Muhammad Mukím Arghún, collected an army of Hazárah and Takdarí men, invaded Kábul, brought it into his possession and married Ulughbeg's daughter. He dismissed the Kábul chiefs and courtiers and began to live there at his ease.

In the beginning of 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.) Báber Mírzá (No. 17) came to Kábul from Samarkand. Muhammad Mukím not being able to meet the enemy in the open field, defended himself in the fort, to which Báber laid siege. Soon Muhammad Mukím surrendered on condition of his being pardoned and was honourably dismissed by that prince to go to his native place.

Invasion of Muhammad Khán Shaibání and death of Amír Zunnún.

In the beginning of the next year, Muhammad Khán Shaibání Uzbak (of the fifth branch of Changez Khan's children) invaded Khurasán with an army "more numerous than ants and locusts." Badíuzzamán Mírzá hearing of the enemy's approach sent for Amír Zunnún and other friends for consultation and help. Zunnún wrote to his son Sháhbeg to keep a strict watch on Kandhár and asked his other son Muhammad Mukím to remain at Dáwar and his brother Sultán Alí to be at Sístán in order

to defend those places in case the enemy turned to them. He himself came to the camp of Badíuzzamán Mírza. By this time the Uzbak army crossed the river Amúyah and was met in the open field by Amír Zunnún and several other princes and chief men of Khurásán. A pitched battle was fought in which brave warriors on both sides were killed. But as the Uzbak army was four times more in number than the Khurásánese, the latter fled to their respective places except the brave Zunnún, who notwithstanding the attempt of the enemy to take him alive as a prisoner, died sword in hand, fighting on foot to the last.

Sháhbeg succeeds his father.

After their father's death Sháhbeg and Muhammad Mukím went to Kandhár, where they remained in mourning for some time. Sháhbeg was elected as his father's successor by the tribes of Arghún and Tarkhán. Encouraging his forces to remain active as before, he watched the opportunity of making up matters with the enemy. Muhammad Khán Shaibání after conquering Khurásán had turned his steps to Kandhár. Hearing of his approach Sháhbeg and Muhammad Mukím sent an envoy to him yielding allegiance to him and recognising him as their superior. Muhammad Khán Shaibání was very much pleased with them, and after sending 3 horses, a tent and some dresses of honour to the two brothers, he returned to Khurásán.

Zunnún's sons Sháhbeg and Muhammad Mukím fight with Báber.

In 923 A.H. (1517 A.D.) Muhammad Báber Mírzá came with a large army after conquering Kábul and Ghazní, to bring Kandhár and Dáwar into his possession. Sháhbeg and his brother advanced to meet him. A battle was fought in which the two brothers were defeated and put to flight. Kandhár and Dáwar with all the treasures collected by Amír Zunnún fell into Báber's hands, who distributed the treasures among his chiefs and leaders and appointed his brother Násiruddín Mírzá as governor of Kandhár. He himself returned to Kábul and captured Muhammad Mukím's daughter Máhbegum. But after a short time Sháhbeg and his brothers brought a large force against Násiruddín, retook Kandhár and drove him to Kábul. Soon after this Muhammad Mukím's life came to its close.

Shâhbeg takes Siwi.

When Shâhbeg came from Kandhár to Shál, several tribes of that province flocked to his standard. He now marched straight against Siwí and took that fortified town. The people in the fort fled to Fatehpur, which was about 100 miles from Siwí towards Sind. Shâhbeg marched against Fatehpur. Here he was met by the sons of Pír Walí Barlás, the ruler of Siwí, with two or three thousand men of the Balóch tribe and others. A battle was fought in which Shâhbeg was successful. Some of the people were killed and others fled to Sind. Shâhbeg returned to Siwí, where he spent some time quietly, constructing several buildings, planting several gardens and laying the foundation of a fort. He then returned to Kandhár. This was about the year 925 A. H. (1519 A. D.).

While at Kandhár Shâhbeg was much pressed by his brother's wife, the mother of Máhbegum to get her back her daughter from Kábul, where she had been confined by Bábar. To succeed in this attempt, the following arrangement was made. A woman by name Daolat Katah who had been attached to the family, was sent to Kábul with instructions to assist Máhbegum in her escape. Daolat Katah came to Kabul like a stranger, managed to visit Máhbegum, brought Máhbegum one day on some pretext to a place outside the town, where she was carried away by a party of men appointed by Shâhbeg for the purpose. She was safely brought to Kandhár, only her little daughter Náhíbegum, a child of 18 months was left behind.

Shâhâbeg taken prisoner but released by his slave.

In 917 A.H. (1511 A.D.) when Sháh Ismáil Safawí, king of Persia,* conquered Khurásán and Muhammad Khán Shaibání

* This is the first of the 9 Kings of Persia of the line of Safawí, being the son of Sultán Haidar son of Sháh Juned, a descendant of Shekh Safí Músawí. He completely conquered Irák and Khurásán in 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) He was the founder of the sect of Shiahs called Asná Ashriah (recognising the 12 Imáms or descendants of the prophet.) He died after a reign of 24 years and was succeeded by his son Sháh Tahmasb. Shah Abba's was one of this line, the last being Sulta'n Husain son of Sulaima'n Sha'h, whose reign commenced in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.)

Uzbak was defeated and killed, terror spread throughout the country. Seeing two powerful heroes in the field *viz*: Sháh Ismáil on one side, and Báber on another, Sháhbeg Arghún had no other alternative but to make peace with them. He therefore sent some men with rich presents and submissive messages to Báber, who gave him pardon and on his coming to visit him, received him with honour and distinction. After spending some time with the king, when Sháhbeg was returning to Kandhár, he was taken prisoner at the hint of the king and thrown into the fort of Zafar. Mehtar Sanbul, a slave of Sháhbeg's, coming to know of this, determined to set his master at liberty. He came to the town of Zafar and opened a shop of a confectioner near the gate of the fort and began to visit the men in the fort on the pretext of selling sweatmeats. He got an opportunity of seeing Sháhbeg and settling with him the means of his escape. One night he concealed some men in his shop and going to the fort distributed in the usual way some sweatmeats in which he had mixed some intoxicating drug. The result was, that soon all the occupants of the fort fell asleep or remained unconscious. Mehtar Sanbul with two other men scaled the wall of the fort, went in to Sháhbeg and brought him out safely, though in the attempt he lost a tooth by an accidental fall. Sháhbeg and his men took fleet horses that had been posted for them and galloped hard for some days, and ultimately came to his own territory, safe and sound, though they had been pursued for a short distance.

Sháhbeg leaves Kandhár and goes to Sind.

Since the abrupt and unceremonial departure of Sháhbeg Báber was contemplating an invasion of Kandhár, but he was detained for some time by the affairs of Badakhshán and Transoxania. After he settled those, he marched against Kandhár. Sháhbeg determined to defend himself in his fort and began to make preparations accordingly. Soon his spies informed him that the enemy was coming with a large force. Sháhbeg prepared to meet him outside, but fortunately Báber fell sick and could not immediately take any active offensive steps. Considering this a favourable opportunity, Sháhbeg sent some

presents through some envoys and concluded peace with the king, who returned to Kábul. Sháhbeg now came to Siwí and there laid his plans for his future movements. He was sure that Bábar entertained bad feelings towards him and would very probably march against Kandhár again next year, and take it. He therefore, in the beginning of winter, sent about 1,000 men from Siwí to Sind, in order to secure a new sphere of action for himself. This force entered Sind for the first time, on the 17th of Zíkaad 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.) and laid waste the country about the place, securing a large booty, by removing about 1,000 camels working in the water-wheels and in other ways. After remaining there for a week they returned. Next year 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.) sure enough Bábar came to Kandhár and laid siege to it. Several battles took place. Famine and plague also broke out, which compelled the combatants to conclude peace and Bábar returned to Kábul. In 922 A.H. (1516 A.D.) Bábar again invaded Kandhár, but before any fight commenced, it was settled between the envoys of the two princes that from the next year Kandhár would be given up into the hands of the chiefs appointed by Bábar. Bábar therefore returned to his capital and Sháhbeg went to Shál and repaired the fort of the place, as well as the strongholds of Siwí.

Kandhár taken by Bábar.

Next year 923 A.H. (1517 A.D.) as already arranged, the keys of the fort of Kandhár were given to Bábar. The next two years Sháhbeg spent in Shál and Siwí inactively. Then he again made a predatory excursion within the frontiers of Sind. Coming to Sístán, he was confronted by Daryá Khán the adopted son of Jám Nindó (Nizámuddín) the then ruler of Tattá. A fight took place between the Sindís and the Mughuls in which many warriors were killed on both sides. After all the Mughuls went back to their native country and the Sindís came to Tattá. About the close of that year 925 A.H. (1519 A.D.) Jám Nindó died and was succeeded by Jám Feróz as has already been mentioned.

CHAPTER VIII.*

The reigns of Jám Feróz Sammah and Mírzá Sháhbeg Arghún in Sind.

Sháhbeg invades Tattá.

We have mentioned at the close of a previous chapter that some Mughuls had come to Sind in the reign of Jám Feróz and settled there with the permission of the Jám. Among them were Kíbak Arghún who had left Sháhbeg's party owing to a murder he had committed that side, and Mír Kásim Kíbakí, who was a sort of spy left by Sháhbeg. Most of these Mughuls, chiefly of Daolatsháh and Núrgáhí tribes had been enlisted in his service by Jám Feróz, who entertained some suspicions against Daryá Khán and wanted to secure some intrepid men to work against him, in case of necessity. It was at the information and invitation of Mír Kásim Kíbakí, that Sháhbeg marched against Tattá with a large army about the close of 914 A.H. (1508 A.D.).

Sháhbeg's fight with Daryá Khán

Sháhbeg came to Fatehpur and Ganjábah to make warlike preparations by collecting and arranging troops. He left some chiefs in charge of those places, posted his own brother at Siwí and sent Mír Fázil Kókaltásh † with 240 horses, as an advance party. The Sammah army of sind on passing through the district of Bághbán was joined at Taltí, about 6 or 7 miles from Sehwán, by Daryá Khán's sons Mahmúd and Mótan Khán. On the arrival of Sháhbeg at the village of Bághbán, the chief men of the place hastened to pay their respects to him, which encouraged him to advance towards Tattá. Passing through the Lakí hills, he came within about 6 miles of Tattá southwards, where he halted and encamped on the bank of the Khánwáh. In those days the river flowed to

---

* This chapter is also taken from the Tárikh Maasúmí.

† Mír Fázil son of Adil Khwájah was a native of Isphán. When Amir Taimúr had invaded that fort of Persia Adil Khwájah had fallen into the hands of Mir Hasan Misrí, Zunnún's father, who brought him up like his son. Mír Fázil's son Sultán Muhammad Khán played an important part in the Government of Bakhar, as will be shorty noticed.

the south of Tattá and so he had to make arrangements to cross it. The spies soon found a native way-farer, who, on pressure put upon him, pointed out the place where the river was fordable. It was on the 15th of Muharram 926 A.H. (1519 A.D.) that Sháhbeg rode into the river and led his whole force across, having left a party of soldiers to protect the camp at the river. Daryá Khán, the adopted son of Jám Nindó, left his master Jám Feróz at the capital city and himself advanced with a large army and gave battle to the Mughuls. A severe battle was fought, which ended in the victory of Sháhbeg.* Jám Feróz hearing of the defeat of his army, fled across the river. Daryá Khán was killed in the battle. Up to the 20th of the same month the Mughuls plundered the city. Several women and children of respectable families were captured. Even those of Jám Feróz remained in the city. It was at the intercession of Kázi Kázan, the most learned man of the time at Tattá, whose family members also had been taken prisoners, that Sháhbeg stopped the plunder by giving an arrow to the Kázi to show it round to the plundering Mughuls. A proclamation was also issued to that effect, and once more there was order and quiet in the city.

Fight of Jám Feróz.

Jám Feróz, with a few persons was tarrying in the village of Perár, anxious to get some information about his own and his father's family, to protect whom, however, Sháhbeg had the good sense to post a party of his men round their residence. Seeing no help for it, he was obliged to send messengers to Sháhbeg recognising him as his superior and asking for mercy. Sháhbeg sent back the messengers with presents and with promise of pardon on the Jám's surrender. Accordingly Jám Feróz, taking his brothers and kinsmen with him issued from Perár to the bank of

---

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám this battle was fought on the bank of the A'líja'n, which was a big canal below Tattá', and Sha'hbeg entered the city as victorious on the 11th of Muharram 927 and not 926 A.H. as in the Táríkh Maasúmí.

"Ruin of Sind" is the phrase from the numeral value of whose letters this date is obtained by *abjad* process in Persian.

The rule of Sammah dynasty ended here, having lasted for 175 years.

the river with a sword hanging round his neck as a mark of surrender. Sháhbeg ordered the Jám's families to be taken across with due honour, and in the next month, Saffar, Sháhbeg encamped outside the city, where Jám Feróz came to pay homage to him in person. Sháhbeg received him well and gave him the rich robe of honour that his own father Amir Zunnún had received from king Muzaffar Husain. Sháhbeg was kind enough to give the governorship of Tattá to the Jám. But after some consultation with the chief men of the place it was resolved that as Sind was a spacious country, half of it might be given to Jám Feróz and the other half retained and left in charge of agents appointed by the Mughul prince. Accordingly the Lakí hills near Sehwán were fixed as the boundary. The country from Lakí down to Tattá was to remain under Jám Feróz, and that upwards to the north, to be retained by the agents of Sháhbeg. After this settlement was made and ratified, Sháhbeg left Tattá and marched out on his return journey.

Sháhbeg at Tattá.

At Talti Sháhbeg received the homage of certain Sahtah and Sódhá chiefs. He then came to Sehwán. He left Mír Alíkah Arghún, Sultán Mukímbeg Lár, Kibak Arghún and Ahmad Tarkhán in charge of the place, and sent Sultán Mahmúd Khán Kókaltásh* to take charge of Bakhar and himself proceeded to Shál to bring his family. At the same time he deputed Kázi Kázan to bring Mahmúd son of Daryá Khán to his senses and advise him to surrender, but the Kázi did not succeed in his mission. Sháhbeg, was therefore obliged to come to Talti, where Daryá Khán's sons Mahmúd and Mótan Khán, and Jám Sárang and Rinmal Sódhó had mustered their forces and prepared to defend the place at the instigation of Makhdúm Bilál,† a learned man of the place, as the latter had been ill-treated by the Mughuls after Sháhbeg's victory in Sind and compelled to give certain taxes. Within 3 days, Sháhbeg

---

* He was the son of Mír Fázil Kókaltash, mentioned above. The reader will remember this personage and follow him, as will appear further on, that he plays a very important part in the history of Sind, about this period, especially in connection with Bakhar. We shall take further notice of him elsewhere.

† This pious man's tomb can still be seen at Bághbán near Dádú.

secured some boats and crossed the river, with Mír Fázil Kókaltásh and the Arghún and Tarkhán forces. As Rinmal with his brother Jódhó* advanced to meet them Mír Fázil attacked them and defeated them. The fort of Taltí was taken. Most of the Sammah troops were cut down, some drowned themselves in the river and a few fled to Sehwán. Rinmal Sódhó's brother Jódhó was also among the slain.

Tattá given back to Jám Feróz. Jám Salahuddín invades Tattá.

After spending 3 days at Taltí Sháhbeg returned to Shál and Siwí, and Jám Feróz began to rule quietly at Tattá as before. But it was not long before Jám Saláhuddín, who had some time ago revolted against Jám Feróz and driven him away from his capital, and had subsequently been himself driven away by Daryá Khán to Gujrát, once more invaded Tattá with an army of 10,000 men, consisting chiefly of Járejás and Sódhá Khangárs.† Jám Feróz, without losing time, hastened to Sháhbeg's agents at Sehwán and through them sent some fleet messengers to Sháhbeg for help. The latter despatched his son Mírzá Sháh Hasan with a column of Mughuls for the purpose, and sent some more forces after him, by successive instalments.

Sháhbeg's son Sháh Hasan comes to Jám Feróz's help.

On the 11th of Muharram 927 A.H. (1520 A.D.) Mírza Sháh Hasan left Shál for Sind, and after 20 days' journey arrived in the vicinity of Tattá. Saláhuddín hearing of the Mughul's approach left Tattá, recrossed the river and betook himself to the village of Ján. Jám Feróz received Mírzá Sháh Hasan gratefully and in return received marks of distinction and friendship from him. Saláhuddín was soon pursued and overtaken. A fight ensued between the advance columns of the two parties, one led by Haibat Alí Khán, Saláhuddín's son, who was son-in-law to Sultán Muzaffar of Gujrát, and another by Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán,‡ Sultán-kullbeg and Mír Alíkah.

---

* In the Tuhfatulkirám it is Amír Amráni brother of Rái Khangár.

† Pronounced by some as Khinkár.

‡ The reader will remember this personage, who is destined to be the founder of the Tarkhán dynasty of rulers in Sind.

Saláhuddín's son was killed and his army routed. Mad with rage at his son's death, Saláhuddín precipitated himself upon the Mughuls. But soon he too was slain and his army fled to Gujrát. After spending 3 days at the scene of the battle Jám Feróz went back to Tattá to settle affairs there and Mírzá Sháh Hasan returned to Bághbán to pay his respects to his father, who had come to that place. Here during their stay, the Máchhí tribes, who had become rather turbulent and refractory, were punished, their cattle and property plundered and their villages razed to the grounds.

Shábbeg at Sehwán.

Soon after, Sháhbeg, leaving his son there went to Sehwán with a few chiefs of Bághbán and others and inspected the new fort. He posted some trustworthy persons there and returning to his camp, prepared to move to Bakhar. Soon Kázi Kázan came to visit him, and was shown great favour. Envoys with rich presents from Jám Feróz also arrived. Sháhbeg received them cheerfully and returned them with a letter to the Jám intimating that he intented to conquer Gujrát, and that should he succeed in that undertaking he would give up the whole country of Sind to him.

Revolt at Bakhar and Sháhbeg marches in that direction.

Mír Fázil Kókaltásh, who had been in charge of Bakhar, left his son Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who was then a boy of 15, in his place and himself joined Sháhbeg. In his absence, some headmen of the Dhárejah tribes, who had been asked by Sháhbeg to live in the fort of Bakhar, left that place and stationed themselves in the plain close to Lóhrí* from which place they twice attempted to take Bakhar, but were repulsed by the Sayyeds of Bakhar, who were on very friendly terms with Sultán Mahmúd. On the information being sent to Mír Fázil, the latter took his leave from Sháhbeg at his camp of Chándko, a town about 60 miles to the west of Bakhar† and came to Bakhar, bringing with him 43 ringleaders of Dhárejahs, who had voluntarily advanced to meet him and to flatter him. On hearing the personal complaint of his son

*Now Rohrí

† This must be Lárkana, the chief place of Chandkái parganah.

against the Dhárejah headmen, Mír Fázil beheaded 27 of the chiefs. By this time Sháhbeg had encamped near Sakhar* on his way to Bakhar. Here he was received by Sultán Mahmúd, who gave him a full report about the conduct of Dhárejahs. On consultation with Kázi Kázan, who had happened to come there to visit Sháhbeg, the latter ordered a massacre of those mischievous leaders. Accordingly Sultán Mahmúd Khán hastened to Bakhar, during that very night, and slaying the Dhárejah chiefs threw their corpses from the tower, since known by the name of "Bloody Tower," and in the morning he accompained his father and the Sayyeds to the camp of Sháhbeg. Although the Sayyeds were much praised for their faithfulness and friendship by Sultán Mahmúd Khán and on that account honoured by Sháhbeg, it was considered necessary to put more Mughuls in the fort of Bakhar, probably to check the power and influence of the Sayyeds. The latter feeling the inconvenience of their position in the fort asked permission to go and live at Lóhrí on the other side of the river. This was granted and they all removed to Lóhrí, where they have been residing ever since.†

Sháhbeg at Bakhar.

Sháhbeg now visited the Bakhar fort and divided the ground inside into different building sites for his chiefs and their families and ordered the work to commence. The bricks of the ancient fort of Alór, ‡ the old capital of Sind, as well as the materials of the buildings belonging to the Turks and Sammahs living round about the town of Bakhar, were brought and utilised in repairing the fort walls and building houses in it. It was first resolved to cut and remove the two hills to the south of Bakhar, § but as the river flowed between, it was considered a sufficient protection for the town and so the plan of blasting the hills was abandoned as unnecessary. The repairs of the

* This is now written Sukkur, but we are obliged to write it correctly as Sakhar like Bakhar.

† The descendants of these Sayyads are still living at Róhrí and Sukkur.

‡ Now called Arór. It is a few miles to the east of Róhrí.

§ To the west of Bakhar, according to the Tuhfatulkirám.

fort were then immediately taken in hand and finished in the course of one year. He then ordered some of his chief men to settle there, as for instance, Mír Fázil Kókaltásh, Sultán Sanjar and Mír Muhammad Sárbán. *

After settling the affairs at Bakhar, Sháhbeg determined to extirpate the Balóch tribes, who had now and then been causing trouble. To do this, he appointed several parties of his men, who were instructed to go in different directions and on a fixed day to slaughter them all at once.

These parties spread themselves over the country. About 42 villages of Balóches were destroyed and their residents put to the sword.

Sháhbeg marches towards Gujrát but he dies in the way.

In the winter of 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.) Sháhbeg appointed Muhammad Tarkhán as the governor of Bakhar and himself proceeded towards Gujrát clearing both the banks of the river of hostile tribes living there. Coming to Chándiko, Mír Fázil fell ill and he was permitted to go back to Bakhar with his younger son. Shortly afterwards Mír Fázil breathed his last. The sad news made Sháhbeg very sorry. He sent the deceased chief's elder son Sultán Mahmúd Khán and his other relations too to Bakhar, himself following them soon after. He was so much affected by his brave general's death that Sháhbeg openly declared that his own end was near. Coming to Sehwán he halted there for a fortnight. Thence he proceeded to Tattá on his way to Gujrát. From Tattá he moved to the village of Agham,† where he encamped for some time, waiting for Jám Feróz, who had been called to meet him. Sháhbeg was now very anxious to take Gujrát, because after leaving Bakhar he had heard that Muhammad Báber had come as far as Khusháb and intended to conquer Hindustán. He was therefore almost sure that he would not be allowed to remain in possession of Sind, and so he was contemplating to secure some other country for himself to rule. These

* These men were living here up to 1009 A.H. (1600 A.D.), when Mír Maasúm wrote his Táríkh Maasúmi, as he makes a note about it in his book.

† Also called Agham Kót, the ancient capital of Agham Lúhánah.

anxieties made his heart more heavy and his mind more uneasy. At last when he came to the village of Agham he expired on the 12th of Shaabán 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.),* while the Korán was being read before him at his request. That very night Mírzá Sháh Hasan was recognised as his father's successor by the chiefs and grandees. After funeral ceremonies, the coffin was sent to Mecca, where Sháhbeg's remains were buried in a prominent place.

CHAPTER IX.†

The reign of Mírzá Sha'h Hasan son of Sha'hbeg Arghu'n.

Mírzá Sháh Hasan Arghún returns to Tattá to punish Jám Feróz.

Soon after Mírzá Sháh Hasan took the reins of government, he came to know that Jám Feróz and the people of Tattá in general had become very much pleased to hear of his father's death and were thinking of shaking off his yoke. Sháh Hasan therefore postponed his going to Gujrát and prepared to return to Tattá and punish Jám Feróz.

It was in the town of Nasarpur that Sháh Hasan formally and publicly occupied the throne of his father, and all the Sayyeds, Kázis, headmen and chiefs of the place flocked to him to condole with him on his recent bereavement and to congratulate him on his accession to the *gádi* of government. They then proposed to mention his name in the Friday orations, as is usually done for recognised kings of countries. But Sháh Hasan said that as long as any descendant of Amír Taimúr Sáhib Kirán was in existence, he did not think it proper to allow such a thing. He ordered that Báber be recongised as the king and his name mentioned in the public addresses in mosques, on the approaching holiday succeeding the month of Ramazan. Soon after, Kází Kázan and some other religious men brought submissive messages from Jám

* Strange enough "month of Shaabán" in Persian gives the numerical value equal to 928, as noted in the Táríkh Maasúmí.

† This chapter is also taken from the Táríkh Maasúmí.

Feróz, trying to intercede and secure pardon for him. But Sháh Hasan learning that the Jám was collecting men and arms, dismissed them and marched against Tattá.

Flight of Jám Feróz from Tattá.

Hearing of Mírzá Sháh Hasan's approach Jám Feróz could not dare stop there. He left the city and crossing the river took to flight. The Jám's son-in-law Shekh Ibráhím and his wazír Maniká brought some gunners and archers in boats to oppose the Mughuls and to prevent them from landing. But soon they were frustrated: Sháh Hasan landed at Tattá and Jám Feróz hurried to Kachh in order to secure some help from the Rái.

Fighting between Sháh Hasan and Jám Feróz.

At Cháchikán and Rahimán Jám Feróz succeeded in assembling 50,000 men, horse and foot, and determined to make a stand against the enemy. Mírzá Sháh Hasan coming to know of this, sent some men to keep a watch on Tattá and himself marched against Jám Feróz. Seeing the Mughul forces at hand, the Jám's men lost all hope and resolved to sell their lives dear and die to a man. Accordingly, following the custom prevalent in those days in Hind and Sind, they came down from their horses, tied the corners of their scarfs and turbans with one-another's, and commenced the fight in a body. Seeing this, Mírzá Sháh Hasan, alighted from his horse, made ablusions, said his prayers and asked blessings and help from God, and then riding his horse charged the enemy with his chiefs. From the morning to the afternoon the fight went on. Swords and arrows were busy at work. Both sides fought bravely. At last Jám Feróz losing 20,000 men turned away from the field and fled to Gujrát, where he remained till death removed him from the world. Sháh Hasan took possession of the animals and the baggage left behind by the enemy and distributed the same among his troops. After spending three days he returned to Tattá and thence to Taghlakábád, where he made a long halt of 6 months. Then he proceeded to Bakhar *viâ* Hálakandí.* Coming to a place opposite Sehwán, he was visited by chiefs of Sehwán and other neighbouring places, and appointing Mír Farrukh to be in charge of Darbelah he came to

* The present town of old Hála.

Baburló,* about 6 miles from Bakhar, amusing himself with hunting all the way. During his stay at Bakhar, the place became more populous with some new arrivals from Kandhár and Hirat.

Some fighting in Ubáorah and Máthelah.

In 908 A.H. (1502 A.D.) Bábá Ahmad the younger son of Mír Fázil Kókaltásh was sent with a column to punish some tribes of Dáhar and Máchhí, in the district of Ubáorah, and Batí and Amín, as they had oppressed the peaceful inhabitants of Máthelah and Mahar. Bábá Ahmad came to the fort of Máthelah, after chastising the mischievous tribes and carrying off their cattle and other property as booty. The Balóches of the fortified town of Sewrái prepared to resist the Mughuls and free the country about the place from their depredations. Bábá Ahmad marched against them and defeated them in a single fight, in which they lost a large number. Many Dáharís and Máchhís were taken prisoners. A large amount of money was takn from the people, who also gave a girl in marriage to Bábá Ahmad. After settling the affairs of Ubáorah and leaving some persons in charge of it Bábá Ahmad came back to Bakhar.

As the river was overflooded at that time the Mughuls had been obliged to leave the animals and cattle taken in booty, near Máthelah. Finding it a favourable opportunity, a party of Balóch Jats of Sewrái, fell upon them and carried away the same. Hearing this, Bábá Ahmad returned with some 300 men, killed most of the mischief makers and again secured the animals. On his return, he was again confronted at Batí and Amín, with the joint parties of Balóches and Dáharís. A battle ensued in which Bábá Ahmad was severely wounded. He had hardly arrived at Máthelah, when he died of the wounds.

With the permission of Mírzá Sháh Hasan, Bábá Ahmad's younger brother, Abdul Fattáh, in company of his father-in-law Mír Kásim, came with a force to the scene of disturbance to revenge the death of their dear relation. Bábá Ahmad's body was sent to Bakhar for burial. An attack was now made on the Balóches, a large number of whom was killed. At Mau another fight took

† This village is in the Khairpur territory now. It is near Róhrí.

place with them and there too the Balóches were defeated. A peace was soon arranged, according to the terms of which Batí and Amín were fixed as the boundary of Sind.

Shah Hasan prepares to march against Multán.

In 930 A. H. (1523 A. D.) Mírzá Sháh Hasan resolved to take Multán and for that purpose he summoned all his chiefs and agents with their armies to Bakhar. At first he went to Siwí with 1,000 men to settle some quarrels among the Arghún and Hazárah tribes. He thoroughly repaired the fort of that place and left it in the hands of some trustworthy chiefs. Then he returned to Bakhar, punishing in the way some Balóches of Rind and Magsí tribes and bringing some of their chiefs and prisoners with himself.

Shahbeg pays homage to Bábar and some marriages are celebrated.

As about this time the rumours of Bábar's coming to Hindustán were afloat, Mírzá Sháh Hasan sent some presents with a letter to that king and he himself soon followed them and received the honour of his audience. Shortly after this, a matrimonial connection between the two princes was arranged, which brought them into still closer terms of friendship. Gulbarg Begum a daughter of Khalífah Hisámuddín Mírak, Bábar's chief secretary and minister, was married by the king to Mírzá Sháh Hasan, and Náhíd Begum, Máh Begum's daughter, of whom we have spoken in a previous chapter and who had been detained at Kábul*, was given in marriage to Khalífah's son Alíkhán. Sháh Hasan brought his bride to Bakhar and gave the district of Bághbán and Pát to Hisámuddín Mírak as a present and himself proceeded to Multán.

A short account of Multán† and its rulers.

We have seen from the first volume of this history that Muhammad Kásim Sakifí had conquered Multán,† and after his death it remained in the hands of Arab lieutenants. Then it was ruled by Sultán Mahmúd

---

* As we have seen above, Máh Begum was a daughter of Muhammad Muhim, brother to Sháhbeg and therefore uncle to Sháh Hasan.

† It is said that the origin of the word is Málí Sthán, a Hindu term, meaning the residing place of Mális, an ancient tribe that resided here and fought with Alexander the Great, in 325 B.C.

of Ghazní and his descendants as mentioned in the first part of this volume. Next it passed into the hands of princes of the line of Karámatih * and next into those of Sultán Múizzuddín son of Muhammad Sháh.† Up to 874 A. H. (1469 A. D.) it was held by the kings of Dehlí. In the confusion and disorder that followed in that year, the then ruler of Multán became independent. In 840 A. H. (1436 A. D.) when Alauddín son of Muhammad Sháh son of Khizir Khán of the Sayyed dynasty was on the throne of Dehlí, ‡ disorder spread thoughout the vast empire owing to the impetuous behaviour of the Mughuls. And Multán like some other important places in Hindustán was left without a ruler. The headmen and chief persons of the place, therefore elected Shekh Yúsif Kuraishí as their ruler, as he was a descendant of Shekh Bahánuddín Zakariyyá Multání § and the keeper of his shrine, which was held in great reverence and was visited by people far and near. Thus from Uch to Multán, all the headmen and landowners recognised Shekh Yúsíf as their head and assisted him by giving him men and money.

A short time after this, one Rái Sahrá, a headman of Lángáh tribe, living in the vicinity of Lóhrí sent messages to Shekh Yúsíf requesting that as Bahlúl Lódhí had got the throne of Hindustán ¶ and an invasion was expected, they might make common cause and live like friends. To take in the Shekh completely, who was a pious and simple person, he gave the hand of his daughter to the

---

* The first king of this line was Bahrám Karmatí 278 A.H. (891 A.D.) and the last Hasan *bin* Ahmad 366 A.H. (976 A.D.)

† This is Shahábuddín Ghóri, who came to the throne of Hindustán or Dehlí in 611 A.H. (1215 A.D.)

‡ This Sayyed dynasty consisting of these three kings only, came in power, between the Taghlak and Lódhí dynasties, as is known to the students of the Indian History.

1. Khizir Khán came to the throne in 1421 A.D.
2. Sayyed Muhammad in 1435 A.D.
3. Alauddín in 1444 A.D.

§ We have spoken about this pious man in a previous chapter.

¶ The Sayyed dynasty was succeeded by the Lódhí dynasty, which consisted of the following 3 princes :—

1. Bahlúl Khán, who came to the throne in 854 A.H. (1450 A.D.)
2. Sikandar Lódhí 894 A.H. (1488 A.D.)
3. Ibráhim son of No. 2 922 A.H. (1516 A.D.)

Shekh and on the excuse of seeing his daughter, he began to visit Multán more often. To save his father-in-law this trouble, Shekh Yúsíf gave him separate quarters in the town, in which he began to collect some of his own men. One night he went with an attendant to the Shekh's residence to visit his daughter. Before entering the house, he secretly drank a cup of fresh blood of a kid, supplied to him by his attendant. A few minutes afterwards he began to complain of belly-ache and appeared to grow restless. He soon vomitted out blood which terrified the whole family. Rái Sahrá now declared that he was on the point of death and wanted to see his men and to bid them a last farewell. Of course the simple Shekh had no objection to the admission of these men at such a critical juncture. When the brave Lángáhs assembled there, they immediately following their master's hint, took the gates of the palace and drove away Shekh Yúsíf and his men, who fled to Dehlí and Rái Sahrá ascended the throne of Multán, taking the title of Sultán Kutbuddín.*

Sháh Hasan takes the forts of Sewrái and Máu.

In 931 A.H. (1524 A. D.) Mírzá Sháh Hasan started for Multán. From the fort of Sewrái, he commenced the work of destruction and depredation. The Balóches ran to strengthen the fort of Uch, which was the strongest of all the forts in the country. Sháh Hasan encamped on the bank of a lake and sent his brave general, Sultán Mahmúd Khán, with 80 warriors only, against the assembled Balóches. A severe battle was fought. 200 men of the enemy were killed, Sultán Mahmúd himself slaying 30 men. The Balóches were put to flight. Sháh Hasan now ordered the fort of Sewrái to be razed to the ground, which work was finished in about a week. He next proceeded to the fort of Máu. But by the intercession of a pious man of the place, Sháh Hasan did not destroy the town, but captured the Lángáhs and Balóches only, who were found in it. The fort was soon taken possession of formally and the Shekhs of the place were called upon to

* Shekh Yúsíf had only reigned at Multán for 2 years. Sultán Kutbuddín ruled for 16 years and was succeeded by his son Sultán Husain Langáh, who reigned for 34 years. Then came Sultán Mahmúd son of Feroz Khán Lángáh, who reigned for 27 years and some months and was succeeded by his son Sultán Husain, in whose reign Multán was taken by Mírzá Sháh Hasan as will be seen lower down.

remain faithful to him. Sháh Hasan then proceeded to the country of the Lár tribe and sent Muhíb Tarkhán ahead with 500 horses.

Shah Hasan fights with Lángáhs and Balóches at Uch.

Mírzá Sháh Hasan now marched against Uch, with a large army, the right division of which was commanded by Muhammad Miskín Tarkhán and Mírzá Isá Tarkhán, and the left division by Mír Farrukh and Mír Alí Arghúns, Sultán Mahmúd Khán and Mír Mahmúd Sárbán leading the advance party. The army of Lángáhs and Balóches of Multán was led by one Náhir, and was a hundred times more numerous than the Mughuls. The two armies met and the battle commenced. At first showers of arrows were exchanged, but soon they came to close quarters. The native forces being repulsed outside, they rushed into the fort and began to shower stones and arrows from the top of the walls. The chiefs and headmen, who had been taken prisoners, were now ordered to be pierced to death with lances within the sight of the garrison. This had the desired effect. Several men secretly threw themselves down from the ramparts in order to make good their escape, but they were seized one by one and killed. The town was now ordered to be plundered and the fort to be razed to the ground. The wood and other materials of the fort of Uch were sent to Bakhar by boats.

The boundary line between Bakhar and Multán is fixed.

When Mahmúd Khán Lángáh, the ruler of Multán came to know of Mírzá Sháh Hasan's actions, he collected the people of the tribes of Jats, Rinds, Dódáís, Kóráís, Chándiás and other Balóches, and within one month issued from Multán with 80,000 men, cavalry and infantry. At the very first stage, he fell ill and died from the effects of poison admimistered by a kinsman, with whom he had become angry for some fault. Mahmúd Khán's son Sultán Husain Lángáh was appointed as his father's successor by the tribes, but at this critical juncture, peace was considered necessary and so some pious men interceded and a peace between the two parties was brought about, according to the terms of which the Gháró, on the bank of which Sháh Hasan was then encamping, was fixed as the boundary line between

Bakhar and Multán territories. After this settlement, Sháh Hasan ordered another fort to be constructed at Uch and he appointed some trustworthy men in charge of the same.

The fort of Diláwar is taken.

Mírzá Sháh Hasan was now informed that a large treasure was buried in the fort of Diláwar. So he wrote a letter to Gházi Khán,* the governor of the place, asking him to appear before him and pay obeisance to him. But Gházi Khán refused to do so. Sháh Hasan therefore prepared to march against the fort of Diláwar. He took provisions with him to last for about a month and on the 1st of Rajjib 931 A. H. (1524 A. D.) he marched out with his forces. Sanbul Khán was sent ahead to lay siege to the fort, which was apparently impregnable and situated in a desert, where no water could easily be got. In the course of 3 days only, 100 wells were sunk and in 4 days more, Sháh Hasan himself arrived with the main army. The fort was blockaded. At last a breach was made by Sanbul Khán, and the occupants of the fort, engaged with the belligerents in a desparate fight. Some were killed and others wounded, and a large number of them was taken prisoner. The treasures were secured and a good portion of it distributed among the troops. Sháh Hasan now returned to Uch and thence to Bakhar, where he arrived after a fortnight.

Sháh Hasan takes Multán and gives it over to Báber.

About the close of 932 A. H. (1525 A. D.) some disturbance arose in Multán owing to the weakness of the new ruler Sultán Husain Lángáh. The people, being dissatisfied with his rule, were anxious to have some other chief as their head. Hearing of this state of things, Mírzá Sháh Hasan marched towards Multán in order to take it. An attempt was made by the ruler of Multán to pacify the Mírzá, but it failed as Sháh Hasan wanted him to come personally to pay homage to him, which Sultán Husain would not consent to do. So the Lángáhs made a sortie from the fort on the Arghún army and killed a few of them. This enraged Sháh Hasan, who came and encamped close to the Shams gate of the city,

* Very probably this is the founder of Derá Gházi Khán.

and besieged the fort. Every day a battle was fought with guns and arrows. As the siege lasted for about a year, famine began to be felt at Multán. People began to eat hides of cattle and even dead cats and dogs. The occupants of the fort were compelled to throw themselves from the top of the walls into the moat round the fort. At last on the 11th of Rabíussání 933 A.H. (1526 A.D.) the Luhárí gate was broken down and entry made by the Arghúns. A massacre of the natives then commenced. All the males from the age of 7 to 17 were taken prisoners and the rest put to sword. Great booty, both cash and jewels, were obtained. Sultán Mahmúd Lángáh's son and daughter were brought and entrusted to Sháh Hasan, who handed them over to Miskín Tarkhán. The latter married the girl himself and retained the boy as his own child and protegé. After 2 months, Sháh Husain returned to Bakhar, having first left Khwájah Shamsuddín Khaofí with 200 horse and 100 foot and 100 guns, in charge of Multán. At the same time Sháh Hasan sent some envoys with letters to king Báber offering Multán as a present to him. Báber accepted it and gave it over to his son Mírzá Kámrán.

Sháh Hasan invades Kachh and defeats Rái Khangár.

On his arrival at Bakhar Mírzá Sháh Hasan received despatches from Tattá informing him that Rái Khangár of Kachh was about to march against that city. Accordingly Sháh Hasan, without losing time, came to Tattá. Here he received a letter from Rái Khangár, stating "You killed my brother Ámir Amráni and to revenge his death I have collected an army.* You had gone to Multán and in your absence I would have easily taken Tattá. But I did not do so to oblige you. Now either make peace with me giving me part of Sind or prepare yourself for fight." To this Mírzá Sháh Hasan gave the following reply "I am only anxious to fight. The field reddened with Á'mir Amraní's blood is destined to bear the token of your blood too. Before you take the trouble of coming this side, I am coming to you." Shortly after this, Sháh Hasan started for Kachh. Arriving in the vicinity of the capital, he divided his forces into four

* The Tuhfatulkirám is therefore correct in saying that Ámir Amráni was killed and not Jódhó Sódhó, as mentioned a few pages back.

columns to attack the city from different sides, so that the enemy should, by seeing the advanced party, believe that the force was small and when all should fall upon it, the other columns should attack from other sides and take the place. The advance column was led by Sultán Mahmúd Khán Bakharí. The other three columns were commanded by Mír Farrukh, by Sháh Hasan Takdirí and by Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán and Mír Alíkah. Meanwhile Rái Khangár learning that Sháh Hasan was making a stand with a handful of men only, hurried against him with a force of 10,000 men. Sultán Mahmúd Khán hearing the kettle drums of the Kachh army, hastened to meet him, calling Mír Farrukh at the same time to his help and preventing Mírzá Sháh Hasan from venturing out. In the engagement that took place Rái Khangár himself fought on foot along with his men, having first tied together the corners of their scarfs according to their custom. Sultán Mahmúd commenced with showers of arrows and killed a large number of them. The remnants were cut down with swords by Mír Farrukh, who had arrived at the spot soon afterwards. It was sunset now. The Mughuls spent the night in the battle-field and the next morning they plundered the country and came to the camp with many horses, camels, cows and other booty, together with the prisoners obtained in the battle. Happy and victorious, Sháh Hasan now returned to Tattá.

CHAPTER X.*

The reign of Mi'rza' Sha'h Hasan—*continued.*

Mírzá Sháh Hasan goes to Patan in Gujrát to meet Humáyún and returns to Tattá.

In 942 A.H. (1535 A.D.) Humáyún, who had succeeded his father Báber on the throne of Dehlí,† marched against Gujrát and laid siege to Jitór,‡ Sultán Mahmúd Bahádur, the ruler of Gujrát, wrote

---

* This chapter is also taken from the Tárikh Maasúmí.

† Báber died in 1937 after a reign of 38 years and was succeeded by his son Humáyún.

‡ Jetpur in the Tuhfatulkirám.

a strong letter to Humáyún, in defence of the Rajáh of Jitór, who was a tributary of his. This annoyed the Mughul Emperor. He turned his face to the ruler of Gujrát himself. He soon put Sultán Mahmúd to flight and at the same time wrote to Mírzá Sháh Hasan, on the strength of the friendship existing between him and his father Bábar, to come to Patan with an army to check the progress of the fugitive prince. Upon this invitation Mírzá Sháh Hasan started from Nasarpur *viá* Rádanpur, to Patan. Khizir Khán the governor of Patan had already put himself in the fort to defend the place for the king of Gujrát. Sultán Mahmúd Khán had been sent with 500 horse, in advance, by Sháhbeg. This general so threatened the governor of the place that he, with the advice of his old mother, presented one lac of Feróz Sháhí rupees to Mírzá Sháh Hasan and 30,000 rupees to Sultan Mahmúd as a gratification to leave the place and go away. Accordingly Sháh Hasan turned aside and sent a letter with some presents to Humáyún, intimating that he had arrived at Patan in accordance with his orders. Meanwhile, Sháhbeg halted for about a fortnight in the vicinity of the place and Sultán Mahmúd moved about plundering the country up to Mahmúdábád. Mír Farrukh having just then arrived, he advised Sháhbeg to make excuses and decline to join the Emperor of Dehlí, for, said he, when their Arghún and Tarkhán forces would see the Emperor's men getting the rich booty of Gujrát, they would be induced to desert him and join Humáyún's army. After some further consultation and consideration Sháhbeg sent Mírzá Kásimbeg with a letter to the Emperor, stating that "On receiving your order I have come here with all my forces; but I have just now received despatches from the chiefs of Bakhar and Tattá stating that some Kalmátí Jatoís have made a conspiracy with some local landowners and revolted. I am therefore obliged to go back to check their rebellion."

Humáyún comes to Sind, and encamps at Lóhrí and Babarló

Mirzá Sháh Hasan now returned to Tattá, in the beginning of 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.), through Rádanpur, and on his way he once more chastised the Járejahs and Sódhás. In 947 A.H. after the Emperor Humáyún had conquered Bengál and Gujrát, he was opposed by

Sher Sháh Súri Afghán.* Near the ferry of the river Jún two or three battles were fought between them, and then Humáyún turned to Júnpur. In 948 A.H. (1541 A.D.) Mírzá Sháh Hasan sent Mír Alíkah Arghún to congratulate the Emperor on his behalf, on his late victories at Bengál and Gujrát. At the same time he sent another envoy to Humáyún's brother Mírzá Kámrán to congratulate him on his victory at Kandhár. During his stay in the Emperors' camp Mír Alíkah who was a very shrewd statesman, came to know that a large number of Humáyún's men were about to desert him and that the Emperor was in danger of losing his power. He, therefore without waiting there and taking formal permission from the Emperor, came back to Tattá and acquainted his master with what he thought would probably come to pass. Just then information was received that the Emperor was defeated by Sher Sháh Afghán. Mír Alíkah was much praised for his fore-thought and expediency. It was now arranged that the country on both banks of the river from Uch to Bakhar should be laid waste to and made desolate; as likewise that from Bakhar to Sehwán. But Babarló with its four celebrated gardens was decorated, its buildings adorned and its fort repaired, in order to be fit for the residence and protection of Emperor Humáyún and his family, for they were sure that Humáyún would come to Sind, in order to join his brothers, Mírzá Kámrán and Mírzá Askari, with whom he was on friendly terms now.

On the 1st of Rabí-ul awwal 947 A. H. (1540 A.D.) Humáyún arrived at Láhór, where he was joined by his brothers and other chiefs. Shortly after that Sher Sháh Afghán came to Láhór and began to oppress the Mughuls wherever he found them.

Humáyún was therefore obliged to leave that place too and resolved to go to Kábul. On coming to the river Chenáb, however, his brothers Kámrán and Askarí left him and went to Kábul, without his permission. Seeing that his brothers had turned against him Humáyún set

* Also called Sher Khán. His real name was Farid. Readers of Indian History know that Sher Sháh got the throne of Dehlí in 947 A.H. (1540 A.D.) He was succeeded by his son Salim Sháh in 952 (1545) and he by his brother Ádil Sháh in 960 (1553.) Then Humáyún once more came to the throne of Dehlí.

out for Sind, in the month of Rajjib and in the next month he came to Uch. Here Bakhsho Lángáh, the chief of the place sent a boat full of corn as a present to the Emperor, who gave him the title of "Khán Jahán" coupled with a robe of honour and permission to carry a standard and kettle drums. About the close of the month of Ramazan, Humáyún's camp was fixed at Lóhrí and he himself went over to the gardens of Babarló which was a very pleasant spot.

Humáyún goes to Pát and comes back to Bakhar.

Meanwhile Sultán Mahmúd Khán strengthened the defences of the fortified town of Bakhar and removed all the boats from the Lóhrí side to Bakhar. He was called by Humáyún to pay homage to him, but he sent a reply that he could not do so without the permission of his master Mírzá Sháh Hasan. He, however, sent 500 Khandrs of corn and some other provisions to the Emperor's camp, as he had learnt that there was scarcity there.

Humáyún now wrote a letter to Mírzá Sháh Hasan at Tattá, reminding him of his gratitute towards and friendship with Emperor Báber, and asking his help at the present juncture.

Mírzá Sháh Hasan's reply to the envoys was that when the Emperor would go that side, he would give him the country from Hálakandí to Bathórah and that he would accompany him in his invasion against Gujrát. He also advised the Emperor to shift from Bakhar to Chachikán, as the former place was not rich and productive enough to meet the expenditure of the royal camp, and he promised to meet him at the latter place.

On receiving this message Humáyún wanted at first to act according to Sháh Hasan's suggestion, but he was subsequently moved by his counsellors to secure the fort of Bakhar to serve as a temporary and convenient shelter against the pursuit of Sher Sháh who was then at Láhór, and then to proceed to Gujrát. They showed him that Mírzá Sháh Hasan was giving false excuses and that he was not faithful to him. Humáyún accordingly determined to take Bakhar.

Humáyún had about 2 lacs of people with him and from Babarló, where he had fixed his residence with his family,

to Lóhrí where Mírzá Yádgár Násir had put up in the college attached to the great mosque, a distance of 6 miles, was all occupied by his troops and camp followers. The chief men of the place paid respects to the Emperor and mentioned his name in the Friday orations. Famine began to make itself felt in Bakhar and Lóhrí. This state of things continued for about 6 months, and Humáyún was waiting all this time and hoping against hope that Sháh Hasan would come to his help. After all he was obliged to send his other brother Mírzá Hindál to Pát with a great part of his camp, to secure provisions. The Emperor soon followed him. But as malaria broke out in the camp, they came back to Bakhar, the fort of which still remained in the hands of Sháh Hasan's agents. Shortly after this his brother Mírzá Hindál left the Emperor and went away to Kandhár, which fact further disheartened Humáyún.

Humáyún lays siege to Sehwán but fails to take it.

On the 18th of Jamádi-al-Awwal, 948 A.H. (1541 A.D.) Tuesday, Humáyún started for Sehwán, leaving Bakhar in charge of Mírzá Yádgár Násir. On 17th of Rajjib, he arrived at Sehwán with his whole camp. Before his arrival Sháh Hasan's agents at the place, Mír Sultánalíbeg, Mír Muhammad Sárbán and others had desolated the country all round and they defended the fort against his attacks. About the same time Mírzá Sháh Hasan himself arrived at the place, and declaring open enmity, began to take offensive and defensive steps. He deputed Mír Alíkah Arghún to commence hostilities and himself dug a large trench round the fort. But the Imperial army had already pressed hard on the castle walls and caused a breach, throwing down a piece of the tower. The garrison immediately repaired the breach, without giving the enemy any time to effect an entry. This baffled the Emperor's attempts to seize the fort. After a siege of 7 months, disappointed in the undertaking and inconvenienced by strong breeze and fearful floods, and by the stoppage of communication for provisions by Sháhbeg, Humáyún's men began to desert him.

He comes back to Lóhrí and Bakhar.

At Bakhar Mírzá Yádgár Násir had been twice attacked by the garrison of the fort and put to some loss. A third time also an engagement took place between the two parties near Lóhrí, in which the Mírzá put the enemy's

forces to flight and killed a large number of them with his own hands.

Mírzá Sháh Hasán now tried to win over Mírzá Yádgár Násir to his side. He sent messengers to him promising to give him the hand of his daughter and to adopt him as his son and heir as he had done. At length Mírzá Yádgár left Humáyún's side and went over to Sháh Hasan. Humáyún coming to know of this, sent for Mírzá Yádgár, but on his giving some excuses, he left Sehwán and came back to Lóhrí. As there was scarcity of provisions, Sultán Mahmúd Khán and Mírzá Násir sent some corn to the Emperor's camp at his urgent representation. But this supply being insufficient for the people, they spread themselves over the country plundering villages. Several attempts were made to take the fort of Bakhar, which had been carefully stored with abundant provisions, but as they had got no machines or instruments required for the purpose, they could not do any harm to it or its occupants.

Being surrounded by misfortunes and disappointments Humáyún thought of leaving the shores of Hind and going to Meccá to become a permanent resident there; but his counsellors showed him the necessity of first acquiring some wealth when they could go wherever they liked. Just then a letter was received from Rájah Máldew of Jódhpur inviting Humáyún to his state and promising to render him as much service as was within his power. Humáyún was much pleased to get such an invitation at such a juncture and without much hesitation he started for that state in Muharram of 949 A. H. (1542 A. D.).

He goes to Jódhpur and turns suddenly to Jesalmer.

From Bakhar and Lóhrí, Humáyún came to Uch, and thence proceeded, on the 8th of Rabí-ul-awwal on his journey, arriving at the fort of Diláwar on the 14th of the same month. On 20th of Rabí-ul-ákhar he came to Bekánir. Here for, the first time, Humáyún came to know that the Rájah's invitation was not honest, but treacherous. So he sent a spy to get at the true facts, and soon learnt to his mortification that there was strong ground for suspecting treason and conspiracy against him, plotted by Sher Sháh. Humáyún had already come to

Bahlúdí, about 60 miles from Jódhpur. Learning that all was not right he turned to Sítilmer, rejecting the kind offers of Máldew's chiefs. From there, fighting his way through some hostile parties, Humáyún arrived at Jesalmer on the 1st of Jumad-al-awwal 949 A.H. (1542 A.D.) where he was met by the stragglers of his camp. The camp was pitched on the bank of the Kúl, after a severe fight with the Rájah's men who wanted to prevent him and his men from being near the water and to make them die of thirst.

He goes to Umarkót where prince Akbar is born.

From Jesalmer Humáyún came to Umarkót on the 10th of the same month. Ráná Wírsal, the then ruler of the place, received the Emperor with honour and distinction. He vacated the castle, in which Humáyún lodged his ladies, while the people encamped round about the place. It was at this place on the 5th of Rajjib 949 A.H. (1542 A.D.) on the night of Sunday that queen Hamídah Bánú Begum gave birth to prince Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar.*

As Umarkót was too small and poor a place for supplies, Humáyún thought of leaving it and going to Sind. So he moved to Júnpur, on the bank of the river, which place was celebrated for the beauty of natural scenery and freshness of climate.

Fighting between the two parties in Bathórah.

Here he determined to make a long stay. Mírzá Sháh Hasan after coming to Bakhar and reprimanding Sultán Mahmúd Khán for supplying provisions to Humáyún and hanging the storekeeper and flaying two other officers concerned, came to Sehwán where he repaired the fort that had been injured during Humáyún's stay there. Then he went back to Tattá.

Hearing now that Humáyún intended to come back to Sind and that he had already encamped at the town of Jún, Sháh Hasan came and encamped on the bank of the

* This shows that Akbar was born in the fort of Umarkót. But at present a spot is shown in the jungle, about a mile from the fort, where a stone has been fixed by the government with words showing that Akbar was born there.

river, opposite the above town. Humáyún coming to know that there was a fort in the district of Bathórah, that was full of provisions, sent some of his men in that direction to take the fort. Sháh Hasan asked Mírzá Í'sá Tarkhán to go and defend that fort, but that nobleman refused to do so, being much moved with compassion for the sufferings of Humáyún. Sháh Hasan next asked Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who had been for the last few days thrown out of his master's favour, to go on the duty. Sultán Mahmúd Khán in order to regain Sháh Hasan's favour, accepted the offer and went to Bathórah. Severe fights took place between the two parties in which both sides lost a large numb·r of men. Seeing failure on all sides to the arms and aims of Humáyún, most of his people left him and went to Kandhár.

Humáyún leaves Sind for Kandhár.

At this junctive Bairam Khán having arrived alone from Gujrát, on the 7th of Muharram 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) he consoled Humáyún and brought about a reconciliation with Mírzá Sháh Hasan * according to which the Mírzá gave 100,000 *miskáls* † in cash, 300 horses, 300 camels and other things necessary to Humáyún for the journey and ordered a bridge of boats to be made near the town of Jún for him to pass over with his men. On the 7th of Rabí-ul-ákhar Humáyún crossed the river with his whole army and proceeded to Kandhár.

Bakhshó Lángáh marches against Bakhar, but is repulsed.

Two months after this Bakhshó Lángáh collected people of the tribes of Lángáh, Balóch and Náhir in a fort near Multán, on the bank opposite Júnpur, resolved to march against the fort of Bakhar, as he was informed that Sháh Hasan had gone to Tattá and

---

* Bairam Khán, Khán Khánán was the son of Yúsif Alí Beg and the great grandson of Alí Shakar Beg, the chief man of Báhárlú tribe, of Badakhshán. He was born at Badakhshán and after his father's death came to Balkh. At the age of 16 he became attached to Bábar and in the days of Humáyún when that prince went to Sind, Bairam Khán went to Gujrát. From there he came and joined him in order to take him to Sháh Tahmasb, king of Persia. After his death Bairam was the regent of his son Akbar.

† A small golden coin.

all his governors and chiefs had assembled there under him. With that object in view, he put his troops in 50 boats and sent them ahead to fall suddenly on the island at night, break open the gates and take it before his arrival. Accordingly these men landed at Bakhar about midnight, on the 15th of Jamádissání and set fire to the gate. The garrison, though small, tried their best to check the Lánghás. The assailants were at length repulsed and driven back to their boats. Some were burnt in the fire they had kindled and some were drowned in the river and the rest fled away. The next day, about noon, Bakhshó Lángáh came on beating drums, hoping to see the fort already in the possession of his men. But as soon as he approached, guns and muskets were fired at him from the ramparts of the fort and he was obliged to go to Lóhrí where he spent 3 days and then went back to Multán, after plundering some of the villages in the country.

Mírzá Kámrán is put to flight, comes to Sind, marries Sháh Hasan's daughter, and goes to Mecca.

The above event took place on the Friday night of 14th Jamádissání 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) In the beginning of 951 A.H. (1544 A.D.) when Humáyún, being deserted by his brothers, was preparing to go to Irák, Mírzá Kámrán sent envoys to Mírzá Sháh Hasan asking the hand of his daughter. The envoys were received well by Sháh Hasan and they returned successful to their master. Soon after that, when Humáyún returned from Irák to Kandhár where Mírzá Askarí was a prisoner, and thence proceeded to Kábul, he was opposed by his brother Mírzá Kámrán. But as now all the chiefs took the side of Humáyún, Kámrán fled to Sind, *viâ* Hazárah. He was met by Mírzá Sháh Hasan at Pát, where the marriage between Mírzá Kámrán and Sháh Hasan's daughter Chuchak Begum was celebrated with great pomp. After spending 3 months there Mírzá Kámrán returned to Kandhár, with 1,000 horse given to him by Sháh Hasan. He took Ghazní on his way and fell upon Kábul all unawares. Humáyún had then gone to Badakhshán. Hearing of his brother's attack, he came back, retook Kábul and put Mírzá Kámrán to flight, but he was soon taken prisoner.

In 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) Mírzá Kámrán again came to Bakhar. Mírzá Sháh Hasan gave him Sháh Belo, now

called Sádh Belo, as his residence, and the revenue of the district of Bathórah for his kitchen expenses. After spending some time here peacefully in the company of his wife, Mírzá Kámrán prepared to go on a pilgrimage to Meccá. His wife also wanted to go with him, but Mírzá Sháh Hasan would not give his permission. She was, therefore obliged to follow her husband alone in a boat against her father's consent. Sháh Hasan overtook her and once more tried to induce her to remain with him, but she would not agree to it. "Father" said she, entreatingly "when the prince was healthy and strong and his eyes were all right, you gave me away to him. Now when he has become blind you prevent me from being with him. I will not do so and bring the reproach of people on my head." Sháh Hasan felt the force of her contention and he furnished her with all the necessary things for the journey and sent her to her husband's camp. Mírzá Kámrán and his wife thus came to Meccá, where they lived for 2 or 3 years, when Mírzá Kámrán died on the Haj holiday, and his wife followed him to the next world after 7 months. These events occurred in the year 967 A.H. (1559 A.D.)

The last days of Sháh Hasan and disaffection among his men.

In the last days of Mírzá Sháh Hasan's reign, when he was suffering from paralysis, several mischievous and roguish persons got into his favour to the great chagrin and annoyance of Arghún and Tarkhán nobles in his employ. He himself was quite unable to carry on administration work effectually, which fell into the hands of men unworthy of managing it, while he himself passed most of his time in boats sailing from Tattá to Bakhar and from Bakhar to Tattá. In 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.) he gave the governorship of Tattá to one Aṭabi Gáhí who with his mean relations greatly oppressed Arghúns and Tarkháns. Several complaints were taken to Sháh Hasan against the governor's misbehaviour, but Sháh Hasan paid no heed to them. Similarly the governorship of Nasratábád was given to his slaves Shánbah and Rakík. He then came to Babarló and thence to Bakhar, where he arrived in Muharram, 961 A.H. (1553 A.D.). Bakhar had been entrusted to Mír Sháh Mahmúd Arghún, who in conspiracy with some other dissatisfied persons, was planning to make a short work of Sháh Hasan and the rogues

in power, but before anything could be arranged Sháh Hasan went away to Tattá.

Sháh Hasan getting this information sent for Mír Sháh Mahmúd, who was obliged to obey the summons and he went and joined Sháh Hasan opposite the town of Sann. Sultán Mahmúd Khán was at Siwí at that time. His mother fearing that Mír Sháh Mahmúd was about to revolt and seize Bakhar, sent urgent messages to his son to come and take advantage of the crisis. Accordingly Sultán Mahmúd Khán came to Bakhar, and informed Sháh Hasan that he had come to Bakhar hearing of Mír Sháh Mahmúd's conspiracy and asked for orders as to what he should do. But before Sháh Hasan got his letter he had already appointed Mír Malak Muhammad and Mír Lutfí to the charge of Bakhar. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, was therefore greatly disappointed and enraged. The new joint governors of the place, on their coming to Bakhar saw the old veteran general on the scene and considered it proper to take him into their confidence. To please him, therefore they sent the keys of the fort to Sultán Mahmúd Khán who had the satisfaction of knowing that his right had not been forgotten even by his rivals.

Mírzá Isá Tarkhán's revolt.

In the Muharram of 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.) the Arghúns and Tarkháns of Tattá made common cause and taking Mírzá Isá Tarkhán as their leader, openly caused a revolt. They murdered Arabí Gáhí, Shaabah, and Rakík, Sháh Hasan's favourites, and took Sháh Hasan's wife Máh Begum prisoner. They broke open the public treasury and distributed money among the soldiers. Even Mír Sháh Mahmúd was obliged to join the insurgents. In a fit of anger Sháh Hasan wrote to Sultán Mahmúd Khán at Bakhar to massacre all the Arghúns and Tarkháns there. An Arghún chief was at the same time slain at Tattá and his head exposed publicly on the point of a spear. This exasperated the Arghúns and Tarkháns the more. Sultán Mahmúd Khán on getting Sháh Hasan's orders captured the Mughuls, but following the advice of his mother instead of slaughtering them, as directed, he sent them as prisoners to Sháh Hasan to deal with them as he thought proper, and himself followed them, leaving Bakhar in the hands of his mother and his trustworthy men. He met Mírzá Sháh Hasan, who seemed

to be very much pleased with him. Forthwith he went and joined the fight going on with Tarkháns near Tattá. A good many men were lost on both sides. Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán now secretly sent a person to Sultán Mahmúd Khán requesting him to stop fighting in view of amicable settlement. On the 2nd of Rabí-ul-awwal they met secretly and came to the following settlement, *viz.*, that Mírzá Sháh Hasan was past recovery and so would not live long; that as long as he lived they should obey him and act according to his wishes; that after his death they should divide the kingdom of Sind among themselves, the portion from Lakí hills southwards going to Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán and that northwards, to Sultán Mahmúd Khán. These conditions were written on a paper and signed and sealed by both of them. They also solemnly swore by touching the Korán that they would keep the terms of the secret treaty. About the same time, through the intercession of some men Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán was pardoned by Mírzá Sháh Hasan and reconciliation was effected. He now returned Sháh Hasan's wife Máh Begum.

Mírzá Sháh Hasan's death.

Mírzá Sháh Hasan now left Tattá in order to proceed to Sehwán. The disease from which the Mírzá was suffering was daily increasing and now took a very severe form. On his arrival at the village of Alípótó, on Monday the 12th of Rabí-ul-awwal of the same year 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.) Mírzá Sháh Hasan expired. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who was present there, wept bitterly, and uncovering the dead man's head and kissing his feet he called the bystanders to bear witness to what he was going to say. He then spoke as follows—"For the whole of my life I have remained faithful to the Mírzá, even up to this moment, and I am indebted to no other person so much as to this man, for kindness and patronage." Sháh Hasan's body was then washed and funeral prayers were offered over it. It was first suggested that the body be taken to Bakhar, but as the late Mírzá's wife wanted to send it to Meccá, which was nearer from Tattá, the body was brought to the latter place. Here they were met by Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán too. Sháh Hasan's coffin was first deposited underground in the compound of Mír Ahmad Walí, on the bank of the river. Within 3 months, a Mausoleum was built on the Makli hills, to which it was then removed by several Arghún and

Tarkhán mourners. After two years, it was removed from there and carried to Meccá, where it was buried by the side of his father's tomb.

Division of the country.

Immediately on Mírzá Sháh Hasan's death it was widely known that Tattá had fallen to the lot of Mírzá Í'sá Tarkhán and Bakhar to that of Sultán Mahmúd Khán. A few other chiefs like Mírzá Sháh Mas-úd, Mír Sháh Hasan Takdírí, Mír Abul Khair, Mír Hámid Sárbán and Khwájah Báki, therefore determined to seize Sehwán, which was about midway between the above two cities. So they came to Sehwán and occupied it. When Sultán Mahmúd Khán came to take possession of it they would not open the gates to him. He was therefore obliged to hurry on to Bakhar. Mírzá Í'sá Tarkhán, learning the state of affairs at Sehwán, sent his son Mírzá Muhammad Sálih with some forces to besiege the fort and take it. He himself also soon came and joined his son. When much pressure was put upon the fort, Sayyed Mír Kalán, the grandfather of Mír Maasúm, the author of the Táríkh Maasúmí, interceded and brought about a reconciliation. The fort was given to Mírzá Í'sá. Mírzá Sháh Mas-úd and other chiefs, being much disappointed and ashamed, left the place and went to Gujrát, through Párkar, on the pretext of going on a pilgrimage to Meccá. But they soon went over to Hindustán and ever[illegible]wards remained there.

Sháh Hasan's character and his family.

Mírzá Sháh Hasan, was born in 876 A.H. (1374 A.D.) and died in 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.) His age was 66 years,* and his reign lasted for 34 years. He was a brave soldier. From his youth to his old age he was successful in all the battles he fought. He performed several good and praiseworthy deeds. He was fond of study and was a close reader of histories. He was a good Persian writer, and wrote a good hand too. Mír Maasúm Sháh says that he had seen his writing with Kázi Dittó of Sehwán, when he was the Kázi's pupil. He was a good poet and a reader of poetry. He paid great reverence to learned and pious men and to Sayyeds of his time, and spent much of his time in their company. He was a

* According to the calculation it should be 86.

very just and kind ruler and carried on the administration of the country with great ability. In his youth he entered the Emperor Bábar's service at Kandhár, and went with him to Kábul, where he remained for 2 years. That Emperor was always pleased with him and used to say "Sháh Hasan has not come to serve under me but to learn the way of ruling a kingdom."

Mírzá Sháh Hasan had two wives; the first was Máh Begum, daughter to Mírzá Muhammad Mukim Arghún, who was his own paternal uncle, and the other Gulbarg Begum, daughter to Mír Khalífah and sister to Muhibalí Khán. By his former wife Mírzá Sháh Hasan had a daughter by name Chuchak Begum, who was married to Mírzá Kámrán, Humáyún's brother. This same Máh Begum had first been married to Kásim Kúkah by whom she had a daughter, called Náhíd Begum. After Sháh Hasan's death Máh Begum married Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán and after his death was taken prisoner by his son Mírzá Báki and she died in confinement. Shah Hasan's second wife, Gulbarg Begum, had been divorced by him two years after their marriage as they did not get on well together. She immediately went to Hindustán and died there. She was buried at Dehlí. Sháh Hasan had a son by name Abul Mansúr, who died at the age of 2 years.

CHAPTER XI.*

The Tarkha'n Dynasty in Sind.

The Reign of Mi'rzá Ísá Tarkhán.

Origin of Tarkháns.

It is said that one day, in his youth, Amír Taimúr Kúrkán, Sáhib Kirán, going out on a hunting excursion lost his way. The night was dark and the cold was extreme. Loitering about in the jungle for some time, he came to some tents or huts wherein there was a light. The occupants

* This chapter is also taken from the Tárikh Maasúmí with the exception of the first paragraph which is from the Tuhfatulkirám.

of the huts believing him to be a thief, came out in a body to beat him. But soon learning who he was, took him in their huts and lodged him in one of their best cellars under ground and tried their best to keep him comfortable. This was when Taimúr was 18 years old. At the age of 34, when he occupied the throne of a vast empire, he called those people and enlisted them in his service, simply to patronise them, without requiring them to do any service at all. On this account he gave them the title of "Tarkhán," which word means 'Excused of service'

Some say 'Tarkhán' was originally 'Tarkhún' meaning 'wet with blood.' That was because the ancestors of these Tarkháns had once fought a battle with some enemy and there was so much blood shed in it, that they all returned 'wet with blood.'

Mírzá Tarkhán.

Mírzá Ísá was the son of Mírzá Muhammad who was the son of Mírzá Abdul-alí Tarkhán. He took the reins of government in the beginning of 961 A.H.* From his youth he had remained in the company of Mírzá Shábbeg Arghún and was considered one of his selected chiefs. In the days of Mírzá Sháh Hasan when Ámir Amráni had invaded Tattá, Mírzá Ísá came from Multán and fought with the invading army, numbering 40,000 men. He showed much skill and bravery in that battle, as 10,000 men of the enemy lay slain on the battle-field. After Mírzá Sháh Hasan's death, he was elected to the seat of government by the united voice of Arghún and Tarkhán nobles. He was a very good and kind hearted person and was always partial to his soldiers and lenient to the people in general. These qualifications of his, therefore made him very popular.†

---

*According to the Tuhfatulkirám he ascended the throne in the beginning of Jamádi-al-awwal, 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.)

†It is said in the Tuhfatulkirám that though Arghún nobles like Kibak, Farrukh and Taimúr were in his favour, they often occasionally broke into his house with arms and demanded shares of the late Mírzá's treasures and Mírzá Ísá never displeased them and always gave them good hopes and sent them away satisfied.

He fights with Sultán Mahmúd Khán at Bakhar.

After about one year, at the instigation of some Arghúns he broke with Sultán Mahmúd Khán and collecting a force marched forth in the direction of Bakhar. In the commencement of Rabí-ussání 963 A.H. (1555 A.D.) he encamped opposite Bakhar and carried on fighting with his troops for about a fortnight. Sultán Mahmúd Khán had sheltered himself in his fort, from which twice or thrice he made a sortie and fought severe battles with Mírzá Ísá. The latter was soon obliged to go back to Tattá.

Europeans make an attak on Tattá.

In his absence from Tattá a party of Europeans, whom Mírzá Ísá had sent for, for employment under him, came from the port of Gúdah to Tattá. Not seeing the ruler there, they plundered the city, took some men prisoners, set fire to the buildings close to the bank of the river and went away. When Mírzá Ísá got this news, he left Bakhar abruptly, as mentioned above, and came back to Tattá, soon after the departure of the Europeans.*

On his return journey, Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán was pursued by Sultán Mahmúd Khán up to Sehwán, where the latter destroyed the wheat crops and caused some other damage. But soon through the intercession of Sayyed Mír Kalán, a reconciliation was brought about between them, and Sultán Mahmúd returned to Bakhar.

Fight between Mírzá Ísá's sons.

In the beginning of 967 A.H. (1559 A.D.) Mírzá Ísá's two sons Mírzá Muhammad Bákí and Mírzá Muhammad Sálih quarrelled, and a battle was fought between them. Mírzá Ísá taking the side of Muhammad Sálih,

---

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám they landed at the port of Láhrí on the river, and while the men were offering prayers in mosques on Friday, they entered and massacred the assembled men, plundered bazaars and went away shortly before Mírzá Ísá's arrival. They scattered gunpowder in different parts of the town and on the bank of the river and set fire to it, so that for some time the river appeared to be in flames. Mírzá Ísá had to repair the town and the fort anew. He now put a big wall along the river and cut a winding and secret canal from the river to reach the town. About this time he is also said to have built a new port and called it Sháhbandar.

Muhammad Báki was defeated and he fled to Wangó, a village of Sódaás and thence to Umarkót. Then passing through Jesalmer, he came to Bakhar where he was kindly received by Sultán Mahmúd Khán. Muhammad Báki wanted to go to Hindustán, but Sultán Mahmúd Khán, fearing lest he should bring some succour and pass through Bakhar, induced him to give up that idea and remain at Bakhar.*

Death of Mírzá Sálih, one of Mírzá Báki's sons.

In 970 A.H. (1562 A.D.) Mírzá Muhammad Sálih, who was known to be a brave soldier, was murdered by the hand of a Balóch.† On losing one of his sons Mírzá I'sá yearned to see his other son, Mírzá Muhammad Báki. He therefore sent some kind messages by his nephews to Sultán Mahmúd Khán, whom he requested to induce his son to come back to him. This was easily done and Sultán Mahmúd Khán gave necessary provisions for a journey to Mahmúd Báki and sent him away. The father and the son met very affectionately and in token of his kind feelings Mírzá I'sá gave Sehwán to his son as a Jágír and permitted him to go and live there.

---

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám Mírzá Sálih, being joined by some of Mírzá Kámran's men, became very powerful. On the brothers disagreeing with one another, Mírzá Sálih drove away Mírzá Báki to Kachh, and his other brother Ján Bábá to the desert of Samejahs. Mírzá Báki led a very miserable life in Kachh, on one occasion eating bread half eaten by a dog and on another a stolen goat cooked. On the latter occasion he was caught and taken as a thief to Rái Khangár of Kachh, who recognising him and learning the cause of his misery, showed great favour to him. Here he married a Jarejah nobleman's daughter by whom he had a son called Mírzá Muzaffar. After some time he took a rájpút force with him and came to fight with his brother Mírzá Sálih, but was defeated by the Mughuls. His forces left him and he came to Bakhar and asked Sultán Mahmúd Khán to help him with an army, but that wily old man said that he could not do so as there was a peace between him and his father. He detained him in order to send him as a prisoner to Hindustán, in accordance with the wishes of Mírzá Sálih but fortunately for him, Sálih died and he was called back by his father to Tattá.

† The assassin of Mírzá Sálih is said to have been one Murid Balóch, whose father Mírzá Sálih had slain. He came into the Mírzá's presence as a petitioner, with a dagger rolled in a paper and while giving the petition, killed him, (Tuhfatulkirám.)

Fighting between Mírzá Ísá and Sultán Mahmúd Khán at Sehwán and Darbelah

The Arghúns in Sind, being rather dissatisfied with Mírzá Ísá, united and made an attack on Tattá, but they were defeated. They then betook themselves to Bakhar, where Sultán Mahmúd Khán treated them kindly and enlisted them under his own banner. Being thus encouraged by a new addition to his army Sultán Mahmúd Khán marched against Sehwán. Mírzá Ísá learning of the attack came to Sehwán and put him to flight in a battle that was fought near the village of Rafiyán, in which Sultán Mahmúd Khán lost a large number of men. At Darbelah another battle was fought between them, but soon peace was made. Mírzá Ísá came back to Tattá and Sultán Mahmúd Khán went to Bakhar.

Death of Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán

In 974 A.H. (1566 A.D.) Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán died after a reign of 18 years.* Just before his death he expressed a desire to appoint his youngest son Ján Bábá as his successor, but his wife Mah Begum recommended his eldest son Mírzá Muhammad Báki for the honourable post. The dying man pronounced Muhammad Báki as a very cruel and hard-hearted person and rejected her proposal. "He will," said Mírzá Ísá "oppress the people, and one day you may die at his hands." This prediction was ultimately fulfilled. The fact of Mírzá Ísá's death was hushed up for some days by his wife till Mírzá Muhammad Báki came from Sehwán to Tattá. Then the dead body was taken out and buried on the Makli hill and Mírzá Muhammad Báki proclaimed as a ruler and seated on his father's throne.

---

*980 A.H. (1572 A.D.) according to the Tuhfatulkirám which is correct as he came to the throne on Sháh Hasan Arghún's death in 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.) and died after a reign of 18 years.

CHAPTER XII.*

The reign of Mírzá Muhammad Bá'kí Tarkhá'n.

Massacre of Arghúns.

In the beginning of Mírzá Muhammad Báki's reign, Arghúns, under the leadership of Mírzá Kásim and Mírzá Kúchak, began to oppose him and were not in favour of his ascension to the seat of government, as they had been greatly disappointed by the behaviour of his late father. But Mírzá Muhammad Báki won them over by giving them large rewards and donations. Consequently they became very insolent and overbearing towards him. Mírzá Muhammad Báki therefore determined to extirpate them by having recourse to treachery. One day, being much pressed by their demands for money, he sent for all the Arghúns in the town to the upper story of a house, intimating that he wanted to distribute to them the treasures that had been left by his father. At the same time he concealed several strong men with arms in big boxes, said to be full of treasures, and he posted armed men outside too with instructions to fall upon them on a signal being given. Accordingly numbers of Arghúns assembled in the room. After explaining to them the object of the meeting, he said that as it was probable that there should be some dispute among them as to the amount of each share, he wanted to go down leaving them to take out the treasure and to distribute it among themselves as they thought proper. So saying he came down and gave a signal. Immediately the armed men jumped out of the boxes and slew all the men there. Mírzá Muhammad Báki now sent men to besiege their houses and kill their women and children. The massacre was so thorough and complete that a few only escaped, who disappeared from the place.† After that Mírzá Muhammad Báki thought himself to be quite secure and easy.

Revolt of Mírzá Ján Bábá with the aid of Sultán Mahmúd Khán.

The few Arghúns who escaped came to Sultán Mahmúd Khán at Bakhar and were kindly treated by him. Mírzá Ján Bábá, Muhammad Báki's younger brother, who was living among the Samejahs having married there,

---

* This chapter is taken from the Táríkh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám, both.

† This incident is related by the author of the Tuhfatulkirám.

came and joined Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who now espoused his cause and demanded his share of kingdom from his brother. Muhammad Báki reminded him that as he had refused to interfere at the time of his disagreement with his brother Mírzá Sálih, he should do the same now and for the same reason. So Sultán Mahmúd remained quiet for the time and Ján Bábá went back to the country of Samejahs, not liking to go and remain under his brother, although his brother wished him to do so.

Soon after this, Mírzá Ján Bábá, being joined by Arghún chiefs like Sháh Kásim and Alí Sher, marched against Tattá with an armed force. Between the Maklí hill and the city, a pitched battle was fought in which Ján Bábá was defeated, but Muhammad Báki lost many a brave leader of his army. Ján Bábá repaired to Jám Desar, the ruler of Kakrálah near the seashore, for help, but not getting the same, he went back to Samejahs.

Once more Mírzá Ján Bábá with the assistance of Sháh Kásim Arghún marched against his brother. This time they made a sudden nocturnal attack when Mírzá Muhammad Báki and his men were lying at rest quite ignorant of the enemy's movement. Muhammad Báki's force was dispersed in confusion. Sháh Kásim succeeded in coming to the very boat, in which Mírzá Báki and his wife Ráihah Begum were lying fast asleep.* It was the lady who started up first and had just time enough to awake her husband, who threw himself over board and was picked up by a boatman. She next threw the burning lamp in Sháh Kásim's face and had nearly blinded him for ever, but in the dark Sháh Kásim killed her taking her for Mírzá Báki. Mírzá Báki's men were already dispersed in confusion, when he managed to reappear among them and seeing him with them, they renewed fighting with redoubled vigour and put the enemy to flight.

About the same time 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.) Sultán Mahmúd Khán at the entreaties of Arghún chiefs again

---

* This Ráihah Begum was the daughter of Náhid Begum, daughter to Máh Begum, who, as will be seen below, had come to her mother with her daughter. Ráihah was the divorced wife of one Nijábat Khán Mírzá Báki fell in love with her and married her.

marched out and laid siege to Nasarpur fort. But soon hearing that the Emperor of Dehlí, Akbar,* was coming to Multán to visit the shrines of the saints of the place he abandoned the siege abruptly and returned to Bakhar.

On getting the news of the Emperor's approach Mírzá Muhammad Báki determined to bring about some relationship or connection with him. With that object in view he sent his daughter with a princely dowery, in charge of Mírzá Yádgár Miskín Tarkhán to be given away in marriage to the Emperor. Máh Begum, his father's widow, and her daughter Náhíd Begum, who had after Mírzá Sháh Hasan's death come back from Hindustán to her mother, were also asked to accompany the bride; when the party came to Lakí, Mírzá Ján Bábá joined it and all of them, making common cause, misappropriated the valuable property they were carrying and returned with some forces to fight with Mírzá Báki. A battle ensued, in which Máh Begum was seen riding an elephant and encouraging her men to fight. At last victory declared itself in favour of Mírzá Báki and the insurgents fled. Ján Bábá and Yádgár Miskín fled to Kakrálah; Náhíd Begum fled to Bakhar and Máh Begum surrendered. Shortly after this, Sultán Mahmúd Khán came to Tattá and through the intercession of some Sayyeds a reconciliation was brought about. But not long after, Mírzi Ján Bábá and Yádgár Miskín were murdered and Máh Begum also was put to death.† Sultán Mahmúd Khán now carried on warfare with Mírzá Báki at the capital itself and already several men on Mírzá Báki's side were lost. But at about this time Uch had been attacked and blockaded, by Tarsú Muhammad Tarkhán. Sultán Mahmúd Khán went in that direction leaving Mírzá Báki to himself.

In 978 A.H (1570 A.D.) Mírzá Báki a second time sent away his daughter, with fresh presents in company of Shekh Abdul Ghafúr and Mullá Tardí Beg, to the Mughul

---

* Humáyún after reascending the throne of Dehlí in 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.) reigned for 3 years and died in 963 A.H. (1555 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Akbar, who commenced his reign under the regency of Bairam Khán.

† She was closely confined in a room, where she died of hunger and thirst, as food and water were denied to her.

Emperor.* The latter, they say, after spending a night with the girl, sent her back, saying he did not want the daughter of a murderer.

After he had freed himself of the troubles of his brother and mother, Mírzá Báki began that murderous course, for which he is remembered up to this day. He assassinated a large number of the nobles of the city, one by one, about whom he entertained some suspicion. Several pious and good men even, who had done him great service, were not spared; as for instance, Shekh Mínak, Abdul Wahháb Furáni, Sayyed Jalál son of Sayyed Alí Shírází, who was his brother Mírzá Sálih's son-in-law. Some of them were beheaded, others hanged by the neck, others taken on boats and dropped into the river.

The last days of Mírzá Muhammad Báki.

In the last days of his reign Mírzá Muhammad Báki began to show favour to the Arghúns, who had, before this, betaken themselves to different parts of the country. He allotted estates and allowances to them like his father. As about this time Mujáhid Khán, a general of Emperor Akbár had come to Bakhar and laid siege to that fort, Mírzá Muhammad Báki thought it was the best opportunity to seize Sehwán. Accordingly he sent one of his sons, Mírzá Páindah with Jání Beg and Shams Kashmírí to Schwán. Another of his sons, Shahrukh, he posted at Nasarpur, with Sher Alí Kúkah to take care of that part of the country. His third son Mírzá Muzaffar Tarkhán with Alí Khán Kúkah, he put in charge of Cháchikán and Badín districts; and lastly, Nerún Kót was entrusted to the care of Mírzá Muhammad Tarkhán and Kásim Alí Sultán Sárbán. He himself remained at Tattá, with his counsellors, getting weekly reports from the different divisions of his country.

Mírzá Muhammad Báki commits suicide.

The end of Mírzá Báki was drawing near. He had already shown himself very cruel hearted, but now he became more so. It is believed by some that he was not in his right mind. Fearing lest he should be killed by poison, he left his food and water in the charge of one

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám the girl was sent with Sayyed Jalál Shírází.

of his most confidential attendants. On receiving the news of his son Sháhrukh's natural death he became so angry that he ordered the breasts of the females of his palace to be cut off and he caused the males to be tied to the legs of elephants and exposed them to the public by dragging them through the bazaars. He then sent Kásim Arghún to succeed Sháhrukh in the charge of Nasarpur.

The story of Mírzá Báki's death runs as follows. They say one night he got up from his bedstead, extinguished the lamp that was burning, and taking out one of his best swords from its scabbard, fixed its sharp point on his stomach and placed its other end against a wall and then pressed it with his body with such force that his stomach was cut open and his intestines came out. He then took up the same in his hands and walked about in the room for a few minutes and then fell down dead. This was in the year 993 A. H. (1584. A. D.)* Several men were afterwards arrested on the suspicion of being his assassins and beheaded. So that it was said that Mírzá Báki continued his cruelties even after his death.†

His character.

His character may best be judged from his deeds. He was extremely cruel and hard hearted. He had his father's curse upon him as we have already noted. He filled his treasury and his granaries with the property taken by force from other people. He is said to have been very stingy and covetous. Instead of money he used to give corn to his servants. Even the corn that had got spoilt and rotten, was distributed to men in payment of their dues. One of his favourite officers is said to have attained a high position under him for collecting a heap of grain from the dung of horses. He tortured several officers whom he suspected of having acted dishonestly. He cut some to pieces and sent the same to their families. He mutilated others by cutting off their ears and noses. He plucked out the beards of others completely and made them go about in the markets.

* He reigned for 13 years and his body was buried on the Makli hill.

† The Tuhfatulkirám gives some instances of this. Daríaí, water-bearer, was rolled in a cloth and burnt in fire. A Kúrchí was sown from top of the head downwards and then cut into pieces and thrown here and there. Some Hindús were stoned to death. One Malak Ahmad was flayed in public, and his flesh was then cut into pieces and thrown to dogs and his skin filled with straws.

CHAPTER XIII.*

The reign of Mírzá Já'ní Beg Tarkha'n.

Election of Mírzá Jání Beg to the throne.

Mírzá Muhammad Báki was succeeded by Mírzá Jání Beg, who had become very popular with the nobility as well as with the public, with whom he had always dealt very kindly. Coming after a cruel ruler like Mírzá Báki, he was hailed to the seat of government by all men, who in his reign got great relief from the sufferings of the past reign.

It is said that at first Mírzá Báki's eldest son Páindah Beg was elected by certain nobles, but as he appeared to be more or less insane, the choice fell on his son Jání Beg, who was a clever person and a good man. On Mírzá Báki's death both of them were called from Sehwán. Mírzá Báki's son Muzaffar Beg had come to the spot from Badín on the very first day, but the nobles did not allow him to enter the city till after 3 days, when Páindah Beg and Jání Beg came from Sehwán.†

On coming to the throne, at the special recommendation of those nobles who were well-wishers of his father, he undertook to punish the persons who were suspected of having assassinated his father. And how these unfortunate men were dealt with, we have briefly noted above. Seeing the tortures to which they were subjected, Mírzá Muzaffar Beg was so much afraid that from his camp outside the city he went back to Badín in such a hurry, that he left behind much of his baggage. There he began to prepare himself against some future evil day.

He defeats his uncle Mírzá Muzaffar in a battle fought at Badín.

When Mírzá Jání Beg heard that Mírzá Muzaffar Tarkhán was mobilising an army at Badín, he acquainted his nobles with the necessity of settling the matter

* The first part of this chapter is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám and the rest from the Táríkh Maasúmí.

† There seems to be some confusion in both the text books about the relationship of Jání Beg and Muzaffar Beg to Mírzá Báki. In one place the former is called his son and in another his grandson, Páindah Beg being his father and Mírzá Báki's son. So the latter is in one place called Mírzá Báki's brother and in another his son. But on careful consideration I find that in both the cases the last relationship is correct, namely that Jání Beg was his grandson and Muzaffar Beg his son.

with him, as without that, he said, the rebellion would not come to a conclusion. Mírzá Muzaffar, with Alíkhán Kúkah, was fully prepared for the expedition and had resolved to start the next morning. During the night that intervened Mírzá Jání Beg managed to write letters to chief men of the Mughuls at Badín stating "Should Mírzá Muzaffar gain power and become successful, he will certainly bring his own relations, the rájpúts of Kachh and prefer them to you. In that case you will be very much disappointed and will find it hard to live happily. This is the time for you to move in the matter. I shall try all I can to comply with your wishes. If you cannot at this hour withdraw from him, at least stand aloof to-morrow, when the battle commences between us."

In this way he gave them splendid promises and cheered them with good words, and won them over to his side. The next morning when the martial drums began to beat and fighting commenced between Mírzá Jání Beg's men and Mírzá Muzaffar's troops composed chiefly of Kachh rájpúts, the former began to overpower the latter. Mírzá Muzaffar called his Mughuls to take part in the fight and encouraged them much to do so, but they paid no heed to him. Mírzá Muzaffar was therefore obliged to beat a hasty retreat to Kachh, having already sent his mother and dependents ahead. After his flight, Mírzá Jání Beg ordered all the baggage and provisions left by him and his men, to be loaded on camels and sent to him. He then entered the fort and showered more favours on the Mughuls than they had expected or he had promised to them. He granted them large estates, and did all he could to console and comfort the people, who had suffered much in the tyrannical reign of his father. Mírzá Muzaffar went and sought protection under Ráo Bhárah, the ruler of Kachh and Mírzá Jání Beg returned victorious to Tattá.

His peaceful measures at Tattá.

Mírzá Jání Beg now began to take some measures for the improvement of public affairs. He distributed the heaps of grain lying useless in the granaries and storehouses of his father, to the people who were in want of it. He extended his patronage to many of the

deserving nobles, giving them rewards and honorary titles. He encouraged commerce and made some important changes in weights and measures and coinage of money. It is said that before that time no gold coins, were used except the *ashrafís* bearing the French mark or impression. Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán had invented some copper money, that was called *Ísáí*. Mírzá Jání Beg now reduced its value and called it *Mírí*. He caused similar reduction in the weights and measures, which however was considered a bad omen in the midst of so much happiness.

In this way Mírzá Jání Beg reigned at Tattá peacefully for some months till in the next year 994 A.H. (1585 A.D.) he had to fight with Muhammad Sádik Khán, a nobleman sent by Emperor Akbar to Sind. But before we record that event, we shall give an account of what was going on at Bakhar, and how the Emperor of Dehlí interfered in the affairs of Sind.

Affairs at Bakhar.*

We have seen that Bakhar remained in charge of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who was carrying on warfare with Mírzá Báki, but in his last days his attention was called to his own division by the arrival of some generals or agents of the Emperor Akbar. Before giving an account of it we shall take this opportunity of saying something more about Sultán Mahmúd Khán and the gradual rise to importance of Bakhar.

As the readers know Sultán Mahmúd Khán was the son of Mír Fázil Kókaltásh who was the son of A'dil Khwájah Isfahání. From Isfahán, the capital of Persia, his grandfather had come to Khurásán. When Amír Taimúr invaded Hirát, A'dil Khwájah's father Ahmad Khwájah had fallen into the hands of Mír Hasan Basrí,† the father of Mír Zunnún Arghún, who began to bring him up and treat him like his son. Ahmad Khwájah had two sons A'kil and A'dil. A'dil Khwájah had a son and a daughter. This son was Mír Fázil who had 5 sons, by

* From here the account is taken from the Táríkh Massúmí.

† Mír Hasan Misrí, according to the Tuhfatulkirám.

5 different wives. Sultán Mahmúd Khán's mother was the daughter of an Afghán of Shál and Mastóng. From his youth Sultán Mahmúd Khán led a soldier's life having remained with Mírzá Sháh Beg. We need not repeat what he did during the reign of that prince or his successors. In 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) he married Gohartáj Khánum, a daughter of Sháhburdí Beg through the endeavours of a relation of Bairam Khán. In the same year Sháh Tahmásp, king of Persia conferred the title of Khán on him and in 956 A.H. (1549 A.D.) he got Uch, Amín and some other neighbouring parganahs as a Jágír. In 979 A.H. (1571 A.D.) Sháh Tahmásp conferred the title of Khán Khánán on him and sent him some valuable presents.

Sultán Mahmúd Khán's fight with Mujáhid Khán.

When Emperor Akbar took greater part of Hindustán, Náhíd Begum, Máh Begum's daughter, who used to remain in her camp, came to Tattá to see her mother. And when Máh Begum was murdered, she fled to Sultán Mahmúd Khán at Bakhar as we have already mentioned. Sultán Mahmúd Khán promised to espouse her cause and to avenge her brother's death, provided she used her influence with the Emperor and got from him an order recognising him as a permanent ruler, or, governor of Bakhar. Náhíd Begum went to the Emperor and brought the required order of confirmation and brought with her two of the Emperor's nobles Muhib-alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán, on whom the Emperor had conferred Fatehpur and Kirór near Multán as Jágírs. They were soon joined by the Arghúns, who being oppressed at Tattá had come for help to Sultán Mahmúd Khán, but he too had dismissed them without showing them much favour. On arriving at Ubáorah, 80 miles from Bakhar, Náhíd Begum and her companions informed Sultán Mahmúd Khán of their coming, but the latter being much annoyed with their conduct and fearing some bad results, sent an offensive reply to them. Accordingly Mujáhid Khán and others came to Máthelah and commenced fighting with Mubárak Khán, the governor of that place on behalf of Sultán Mahmúd Khán. The latter was defeated and was obliged to shelter himself in the fort. Hearing of this, Sultán Mahmúd Khán sent about 3,000 men to help the governor, but after all

Mubárak Khán surrendered and Máthelah fell into the hands of Mujáhid Khán. This event occurred in 930 A.H. (1523 A.D.) In the same year, a marriage connection being arranged between Emperor Akbar and Sultán Mahmúd Khán's daughter, the latter sent the bride with great pomp and glory to the royal bridegroom, through Jesalmer. Akbar had sent an officer of his to receive the party, but he was murdered by a Rájpút at Nágór. Akbar therefore got angry and invaded Gujrát. Meanwhile Mubárak Khán managing to come back, Sultán Mahmúd Khán appointed him the governor of Alór, to which place he went with 1,500 cavalry.

Sultán Mahmúd Khán's death.

Mubárak Khán and his son Beg O'ghlí were now the chief moving figures, in this division of Sind. Beg O'ghlí was a villain and a drunkard. He made a conspiracy with some servants of Sultán Mahmúd Khán to assassinate their master. But Sultán Mahmúd Khán coming to know of the plot, Beg O'ghlí took some men with him, went and joined Mujáhid Khán and Muhibalí Khán and began to speak ill of Sultán Mahmúd Khán. In 980 A.H. (1572 A. D.) they all came to Lóhrí near Alór. The troopers spread themselves over the whole of Lóhrí and Bakhar to the great annoyance of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who sent his nephew Muhammad Kulí to fight with the trespassers. The two armies met in a battle, in which Muhammad Kulí and most of his men lost their lives. Mujáhid Khán now crossed over to Sakhar and was met by Sultán Mahmúd Khán's brother Amìr Sultán, but he too was defeated. Sultán Mahmúd Khán now took shelter in the fort of Bakhar to which the enemy laid siege. When after some time scarcity of food and sickness prevailed in the fort, and Mubárak Khán and his son Beg O'ghlí were murdered by some men of Muhib-alí Khán, Sultán Mahmúd Khán got an opportunity of sending some envoys with presents to the Emperor at Ajmer. The Emperor was pleased to send him an order confirming him as his agent and governor at Bakhar, which fact greatly mortified Mujáhid Khán and his friend. As Sultán Mahmúd Khán had been suffering from dropsy for some time, in 982 A. H. (1574 A. D.), he wrote a letter to the Emperor informing him that he was unwell and unable to work and requesting him to appoint some other

agent to take charge of the government of the place. In the same year, on Saturday, the 8th of Safar, Sultán Mahmúd Khán expired.* Considering this, a favourable opportunity, Mujáhid Khán and Muhib-alí Khán tried to take Bakhar, but they were bravely repulsed by the occupants of the fort.

Emperor Akbar sends Kesú Khán to succeed Sultán, Mahmúd Khán.

At last, on Monday, the 12th of Jamádi-al-awwal of the same year 982 A.H. (1572 A.D.) Kesú Khán arrived at Bakhar, having been sent by Emperor Akbar to take charge of the government. He was well received by the people of the place and admitted into the fort. Seeing Emperor's agent on the field, Mujáhid Khán and Muhib-alí Khán betook themselves to Ganjábah. But Kesú Khán soon received an order directing him to give half of the division of Bakhar in charge of Muhib-alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán and to march against Tattá, to bring Mírzá Muhammad Báki under subjection. Muhib-alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán having come back to Bakhar they were given Bakhar and Lóhrí, Kesú Khán retaining Sakhar. Soon after this, internal quarrels and fights commenced between these two parties and some complaints were lodged against Kesú Khán in the court of Akbar by Sultán Mahmúd Khán's widows and others. The Emperor at first sent Tarsú Muhammad Khán to succeed him, but on second thought he sent Tarsú Muhammad to Ágrá and appointed a Sayyed by name Mír Adl to settle the affairs at Bakhar. This was in the year 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.).

Kesú Khán succeeded by Mír Adl, who again was succeeded by his son Abul Fazl.

In the days of Sayyed Mír Adl, some men, of the tribe of Mangchá having raised the standard of revolt, Mír Adl led a force against them and with great loss quenched the rebellion. In 984 A.H. (1576 A.D.) Mír Adl died and was succeeded by his son Sayyed Abul Fazl under the sanction of the Emperor. Some Kákir chiefs having revolted, the Sayyed made them prisoners and put them to death by having them trampled under the feet of elephants.

---

* The value of letters in the phrase "dar Bihisht Ásúdah" (*i.e.* He went to rest in paradise) amounts to 982, the date of Sultán Mahmúd Khán's death. (Tárikh Masúmi.)

Akbar sends Iatimád Khán to Bakhar.

In 985 A.H. (1577 A.D.) Emperor Akbar sent Iatimád Khán Khwájah, as the governor of Bakhar. He was a man of very bad temper. He used to abuse and insult people who were therefore dissatisfied with him and took their complaints to the Emperor, who felt for them and said that if he behaved like that, he would be cut to pieces. And so it happened; for, on the 10th of Rabí-ul-awwal, 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.) he was assassinated by some troopers.

Fateh Khán and Rájá Parmánand succeed him.

The charge of Bakhar was next given to Masnad Alí Fateh Khán Bahadúr and Rájá Parmánand, a relation of Rájá Taonrmal, jointly. After 2 years Rájá Parmánand went to visit the king, leaving his brother Mádhaúdás. A revolt broke out in his part of the division and it was quenched by Fateh Khán. Soon after, Fateh Khán also went to visit the Emperor who was so pleased with him that he made him the sole governor of the whole division of Bakhar. Shortly after this, some fighting took place with the chief of Náhirs in which Fateh Khán lost a large number of men. The Emperor therefore gave the district of Bakhar as a Jágír to Nawáb* Muhammad Sádik Khán† and sent him with instructions to take Tattá.

Nawáb Muhammad Sádik Khán is sent to Bakhar.

The Nawáb arrived at Bakhar on Tuesday the 12th of Rabí-ul-awwal 994 A.H. (1585 A.D.). After spending some months at Bakhar settling the affairs of the place, he started for Sehwán. He sent a part of his men in advance and they went and engaged in a fight with Mírzá Jání Beg's men at Pát. The latter were defeated with great loss. Proceeding to the river, he was opposed by Subhán Kulí Arghún in a sort of naval battle. The two armies fought in boats. After all Subhán Kulí was taken prisoner with 12 boats of his. Muhammad Sádik Khán now marched straight against Sehwán and laid siege to the fort. Mírzá Jání Beg came from Tattá to defend the place. When he arrived at about 12 miles from Sehwán, Muhammad Sádik Khán moved out to meet him.

---

* More correctly Nawwáb.

† In the Tuhfatulkirám the name is written as Sádik Muhammad Khán.

At Loki fire was opened from Mirzá Jání Beg's boats. In this way warfare went on for some days. A breach was made on one side of the fort. The occupants raised another wall about the place, so that when the enemy completed the breach, they found a stronger wall in front of them; which fact greatly disheartened them. Muhammad Sádik Khán was therefore obliged to raise the siege and to return to Bakhar.

* Soon after his father's death Mírzá Jání Beg received a letter from the Emperor asking him to pay homage to him as had been done hitherto, to use his coins and to mention his name in the public orations. Mírzá Jání Beg wrote a reply in respectful terms, admitting the Emperor as his superior and promised to send his brother with proper presents.

Soon after his return to Bakhar Muhammad Sádik Khán went to the Emperor. In his absence famine broke out in Sind and people left the country and went to other sides. In 996 A.H. (1587 A.D.) the Jágír of Bakhar fell to the lot of Nawáb Ismáil Kulí Khán, whose son Rahmán Kulí Beg came to Bakhar. He was a very rich man and he showed great favour to the people of the place. On his return to Hindustán, the Jágír was given to Sheróyah Sultán who came to Bakhar in the beginning of 997 A.H. (1588 A.D.). This nobleman was a durnkard and he left his whole affairs in the hands of his inferiors. He sent one of his sons to take Siwí, but he was soon obliged to return unsuccessful.

In 998 A.H. (1589 A.D.) the Jágír of Bakhar was once more given to Nawáb Muhammad Sádik Khán, whose son Mírzá Muhammad Záhid came to Bakhar, on the 12th of Rabí-ul-awwal. He was a very good man and he tried his best to please the people. In his time too, famine broke out to the great trouble and hardship of the people.

Arrival of Nawáb Khán Khánán and his fight with Mírzá Jání Beg.

In the same year 998 A.H. (1589 A.D.) the Emperor Akbar again determined to bring Mírzá Jání Beg under subjection, as he had then made Láhór his capital, and Mírzá Jání Beg was behaving like an equal in such

* The following part of this paragraph is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

close vicinity. Accordingly he sent Nawáb Khán Khánán* to take Tattá and that nobleman arrived at Bakhar in the month of Shawwál of the same year. Mír Maasúm Sháh the author of the Táríkh Maasúmí writes that at that time he himself too had gone to pay his respects to the Emperor Akbar, who treated him kindly and gave him the Parganahs of Darbelah, Kákrí and Chándikó in Jágir, and he returned to Bakhar along with Nawáb Khán Khánán.

Without losing much time Khán Khánán marched against Sehwán, and as Mírzá Jání Beg had come out with a large army from his capital, he proceeded from Sehwán to meet him. Jání Beg encamped in boats, on the bank of the river near Nasarpur. When Khán Khánán came to about 12 miles from his camp, Jání Beg sent Khusró Khán with 120 big boats and several small boats to go and open fire on the fleet of Khán Khánán, but the latter succeeded in alighting on the bank and making a secure camp for his men by putting up rude walls or embankments. Khusró Khán tried to prevent them from landing. Thereupon a battle of boats commenced. Khasró Khán was defeated and pursued by Khán Khánán, but as some of the latter's boats caught fire accidentally the former made his escape.

The next day Khán Khánán brought his force against the camp of Mírzá Jání Beg, who had already sheltered himself in a sort of rude fort. He tried to take it but did not succeed. Khán Khánán therefore had recourse to another strategem. He divided his army into parties and sent each party in a different direction. One party was sent against Sehwán, another to Tattá, a third to Badín a fourth to Fateh Bágh and Jún. Khán Khánán himself proceeded against Tattá and Sháh Beg Khán was sent against Sháhgarh. Sayyed Baháuddín and others including the author of the Táríkh Maasúmí, were sent against Sehwán. The forts in different places were besieged. On being called for help, Mírzá Jání Beg came to defend the fort of Sehwán, but was met at Lakí by the imperial force which consisted of 1,200 horse, the Sind force being about

* His name was Abdurrahím Khán. Nawáb and Khán Khánán were the titles that had been given to him.

2,000 horse. Mírzá Jání Beg attacked the enemy both by land and by water. About noon the engagement commenced. A pitched battle was fought in which Jání Beg's men were defeated but he himself with 11 men still continued fighting bravely. At last they too fled and the day was lost.*

Mírzá Jání Beg came to Unarpur which was about 40 miles from the scene of the above battle. There he defended himself in a rude fort, which was soon encircled by Khán Khánán's column. The siege went on for some days. Every day a battle was fought. Steps were taken to cause a breach which greatly frightened Jání Beg. On his side again, Khán Khánán was convinced that as long as Jání Beg lived he would never give in. So both of them were inclined to make peace, which was soon arranged.

† Peace made between them.

At this juncture Khán Khánán sent a messenger to Jání Beg telling him,—"Both of us are servants of the same master and are attached to the same royal family of Sáhib Kirán. What if by the revolution of time some fighting took place between us. The bravery you have shown in it will long be remembered. But you must remember that on the other side you have the Emperor of the world, before whom brave warriors rub their foreheads on the ground. We must therefore make up the matter and cease from shedding the blood of the poor. I shall stand guarantee for you and see that you are treated well by that monarch, and it is advisable for you to mend matters before all is lost."†

It is said that Jání Beg was the first to seek the truce by proposing to give 30 boats of his and the fort of Sehwán and to be allowed to go to Tattá and prepare to

* It is said in the Tuhfatulkirám that on coming to Sind, Khán Khánán was not quite sure of the success. So he went on, taking blessings from pious men. About that time Makhdúm Núh, a great Shekh of Hálah Kandí had died. Some fakirs informed Khán Khánán that whoever of the two adversaries, viz. Khán Khánán and Mírzá Jání Beg, would be the first to go and condole for the death of the said Makhdúm, would gain the upper hand. Khán Khánán exerted himself in that direction and was the first to go to Hálah for the purpose and so ultimately he proved victorious.

† This paragraph is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

fight with the enemy there; and Khán Khánán, though advised by his officers to reject the proposal and take advantage of Jání Beg's weakness, on consideration that innocent blood would be spilt, accepted the terms and made peace with him.

Before making the peace Jání Beg had written to his father Mírzá Páindah Beg and his son Mírzá Abul Fatih to destroy the city and to remove their families and people to Kalán Kót, which fortified town he had built for occasions like these. This was done and the splendid city of Tattá was brought to ruins. But unfortunately Jání Beg's father and son died about the same time. This was a severe blow to him. He was mourning over these bereavements when he got Khán Khánán's message for peace and he had no other alternative but to consent to it. Orders were immediately issued to the governors of different places to give the keys of the forts to the Emperor's men. Nerún Kót was taken from the hands of Muhammad Amán Tarkhán. Sháh Beg Khán took the charge of Sháhgarh from Abul Kásim Arghún and so on.

After every thing was settled Mírzá Jání Beg returned to Tattá and Khán Khánán spent his time at Sann, as the river was then high. In the beginning of winter he proceeded to Tattá. At Fatehbágh he was received by Jání Beg. It is said that the two nobles came riding on horses, being preceded by some men on foot. On their meeting, the footmen first embraced one another as friends and then their leaders alighted and greeted each other. After a while they again got on their horses, and came together to the city. Mírzá Jání Beg went and put up in Taghlakábád leaving Tattá to Khán Khánán, who engaged himself for the time in settling the political affairs of the place. This occurred in the year 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.)* after seeing the seaport of Lóhrí and visiting other places of importance, both Khán Khánán and Mírzá Jání Beg prepared to go and pay their respects to Emperor Akbar, as the latter had expressed a desire for it.

* This year marks the passing off of the independent rulership of Tattá from the family of Tarkháns, who now became dependent rulers. The whole period of the Tarkhán dynasty was 38 years.

Mírzá Jání Beg was very anxious about his own fate but on his going to Emperor Akbar the latter showed him great kindness and confirmed him, as the governor of Sehwán, Tattá and the seaport Lóhrí. Khán Khánán had left Daolat Khán Lódhí at Tattá. Akbar desired Mírzá Jání Beg to send for his family and live with him for some time. The Mírzá was very unwilling to do so, and so, at the request of Khán Khánán, he was excused the trouble. Mírzá Jání Beg now sent his men under the authority of the Emperor to his minor son Mírzá Ghází Beg, asking him to rule at Tattá for him, with the assistance and under the regency of Shah Kásim Arghún, Khusró Khán Charkas, Bbái Khán Arab Kúkah and Jamáluddín secretary, who were especially sent out for the purpose, while he himself remained with the Emperor for about 8 years. During this period Mírzá Jání Beg's daughter was married to Akbar's son Khusró Sháh.

Khán Khánán and Mírzá Jání Beg go to Emperor Akbar.

It was in the year 1008 A.H. (1599 A.D.) on the 21st of Rajjib that Mírzá Jání Beg died of apoplexy or brain fever.* Under the orders of the Emperor his body was carried to Tattá and buried on the Maklí hill in the mausoleum since known by the name of Ránk.†

Mírzá Jání Beg's death.

CHAPTER XIV.‡

The reign of Mírzá Ghází Beg.

On his father's death Mírzá Ghází Beg was confirmed as the governor of Tattá and he began to rule independently of any regent's assistance. Those of the nobles who had seen him in his childhood did not care very much for him. When his elder brother Mírzá Abul Fatih was living, those men were, on one occasion rid-along in his company, and Ghází Beg, who was a child

Changes in the political establishments.

* According to the Tárikh Maasúmí he died in 1000 A.H. but 1008 is correct as given in the Tuhfatulkirám.

† The Tárikh Maasúmí gives the history of Sind up to this period only.

‡ This chapter is taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

then, was left behind them. Ghází Beg felt this and became so angry that he said "When I happen to get the reins of government, I shall show them what I can do to these dark-minded double-sighted wretches." Now that he was the sole master of the place he began to rule in his own way. Yaakúb Alí Kúkah, who during Ghází Beg's minority, had worked against his wishes by giving hardly one-tenth of the reward that the Mírzá ordered to be given to some person, was now deprived of his Jágír, which was given to Mullá Yaakúb, who was the head master of his school in his childhood. He raised one Shahbází who took care of his pigeons and dogs, to a high post, giving him the title of Sháhbáz Khán and appointed Múlah, a Hindu, as his chief accountant, or Díwán, giving him the title of Daolatrài. He made Ahmad Beg his chief secretary calling him Ahmad Sultán. In short he dismissed the old officers and appointed new ones, through whom he tried his best to keep the subjects comfortable and the troops satisfied. Slowly he took back the Jágírs from the grantees, giving them cash allowances instead.

The rebellion of Abul Kásim Sultán.

There were several persons who were dissatisfied with Mírzá Ghází Beg and they were on the alert to cause rebellion as for instance, Muhammadalí Sultán Kábulí, who on one occasion, while playing at chess with Mírzá Ghází Beg, had got annoyed and had run away wounding two noblemen and people had been sent in search of him; Khusró Khán Charkas, who had been one of the regents; Mírzá Muzaffar son of Mírzá Bákí, who was in Kachh; Mírzá Í'sá Tarkhán, who had run away to Samejahs to whom he was related on his mother's side; and the last but not least, Abul Kásim Sultán son of Sháh Kásim Arghún, who for some years past had been in full possession of the district of Nasarpúr. This last nobleman was a brave soldier and in the lifetime of Mírzá Jání Beg had defeated the Sódhás and taken Umarkót. Though his sister had been Mírzá Jání's wife and his daughter had been betrothed to his nephew Mírzá Abul Fatih, and after the latter's death to Mírzá Ghází Beg himself, still he did not like Ghází Beg's policy and began to act against him. At first he attacked a party of merchants of Tattá who were going on private

business to Nasarpúr and plundered them. When Mírzá Ghází Beg reprimanded him for that and asked him for an explanation, he openly told him that he had nothing to do with his division and wrote saying "I shall be obliged to extend the boundary line of my division to the very bank of the Alijún, and forthwith he raised the standard of revolt and stopped all the ways of communication with Tattá either by land or by water." The old chiefs of Tarkháns and Arghúns, who were jealous of Ghází Beg's power, became very glad to hear of this, as they thought the Mírzá would soon be brought to ruin. Ghází Beg secretly made plans with his new officers to meet the insurgents, while apparently he asked these old officers to help him in the undertaking.

Mírzá Ghází Beg marches against Abul Kásim Sultán.

Having made necessary preparations Mírzá Ghází Beg left Tattá for Nasarpúr. Fearing nocturnal attack from the enemy, at every stage he used to dig a trench round his camp. On his coming to Kátiár, Abul Kásim, with a few persons, came walking to the trench and called out to Ghází Beg asking him politely what he had come for and why he should have put a trench round the camp and telling him that Abul Kásim would not fall upon them treacherously or secretly, but was ready to fight with them, in an open battle. Ghází Beg replied that Abul Kásim had turned enemy to his own self and that until he had brought ruin upon himself, he would not stop in his headlong course.

Mírzá Ghází Beg thence proceeded to Sháhgarh, where he fixed his camp and made a halt. Here it is said that Abul Kásim out of vanity once came up to the tower, and from that place spoke to his troops, saying "I shall give Mírzá Jání's mother to my father, and the daughters of Mírzá Muhammad Báki and other Tarkháns I shall distribute among you." But poor man, he did not know what bad consequences disloyalty always brought.

They make peace.

Abul Kásim's father was a very wise man. He could foresee these consequences and therefore reprimanded his son urging him not to take such a step. He openly applied for his own as well as his son's pardon. Bháí Khán, one of Ghází

Beg's enemies, did not wish that peace be made and so he began to put some hindrance in the way, but he was soon put to death by poison, by the Mírzá's men. Soon after his removal, Abul Kásim became attached to Ghází Beg and thenceforth began to visit him quietly for some time.

Abul Kásim is blinded with a burning iron wire.

Though Mírzá Ghází Beg had sworn to spare Abul Kásim's life, he still doubted his loyalty. He therefore hit upon a plan to blind him, that he might live and yet be less harmful. With this object in view, one day he held a pleasure party on the further side of a canal that flowed near his camp. Ghází Beg now sent for Abul Kásim Sultán asking him to bring the book "Chanesar Námah" that had been written and dedicated to him by its author Idráki Beg and to read it for the amusement of the friends. Abul Kásim, who was very fond of this book, took it with him and walked to the place. In the way he received a letter from Muhammadalí Sultán Kábulí, giving him a warning. But as destiny would have it, he was in such a hurry and good humour that he put it in the folds of his waist-cloth without reading it. While crossing the canal in a boat, along with one of his own attendants and several of the Mírzá's men, when they came to about the middle of the strean, he was caught all of a sudden and his hands were tied behind his back with his own turban. Ghází Beg, being informed of this, ordered that a red-hot iron wire be passed through his eyes. This was done and both of his eyes were blinded giving him great agony. His legs were then chained and he was sent away to Tattá. His friends hearing of what had happened came and fought with Ghází Beg's men, but were either captured or driven away. Muhammadalí Sultán Kábulí, was beaten with the stocks of guns and secured in a prison. Ísá Tarkhán left the country and went away to Hindustán. Thus Ghází Beg cleared the field of his rivals and enemies and ruled at Tattá quietly for a long time.

Fight with Jám Hálah of Kakrálah.

About this time Jám Hálah son of Jám Desar, the ruler of Kakrálah, had encroached upon the frontiers of Mírzá Ghází Beg's territory, and killed and looted some jagirdars and caused some other mischief. Ghází Beg started with an army to punish the Jám. Under the

guidance of Jám Dáúd one of Jám Hálah's kinsmen, he succeeded in driving away Jám Hálah and gaining possession of his country. Jám Dáúd now became a favourite of Mírzá Ghází Beg, who married Jám Dáúd's daughter, and dividing that country into 3 parts, he gave one to Jám Dáúd and annexed the other two to his own territory. It is said that this was the first instance of matrimonial connection between the Jáms and the Arghún and Tarkhán rulers, for, before this the latter had tried much to get a girl from the Jáms but had failed.

Mírzá Ghází Beg prepares to go to visit the Emperor.

While Mírzá Ghází Beg was carrying on warfare with his enemies, Emperor Akbar had sent an envoy to call the Mírzá but as the envoy found him very busy settling the affairs of the country, which urgently required his presence, he would not tell him to accompany him to the Emperor, though he remained with him for some time. After the Mírzá's return from Kakrálah, however, he heard of Nawáb Saíd Khán's coming to summon him. He therefore called together his nobles and told them that if like his father he had a vast treasure with him he would certainly take steps to defend it by meeting the Emperor's army in the open field; but since that was not the case, it was much better that before the Nawáb's arrival he should start on a visit to the Emperor. Accordingly he left Khusró Khán Charkas, Arab Kúkah and secretary Alahkuli, with some troops at Tattá, and taking Ahmadbeg Sultán, Bháí Khán son of Khushró Khán and a few other noblemen with him, he came to Fatehbagh and prepared to visit the Emperor.

Escape and recapture of Abul Kásim Sultán.

Abul Kásim Sultán, had remained a prisoner in the neighbourhood of Arab Kúkah under the surveillance of his servant Daryá Khán. After Mírzá Ghází Beg's departure he arranged with his sister, Mírzá Ghází's wife, who used to send him food, that on a particular day she should send him a noose concealed in the tray of food, and keep a boat ready for him on this side of the canal and two riding camels on the other. About midnight when the watchmen went to sleep, notwithstanding his blindness, he raised up his cot just under the top window in the room, and climbing over it got himself out of the room. He had to pass through two other rooms which

he did with great cleverness. In the last room he fixed his noose to a very small and narrow window, and reaching it and pressing himself out of it, descended to the ground. In this passage he underwent so much difficulty that his skin was scratched off in many places. He then took one Jaafaralí from a neighbouring house, in his company, and crossed the canal by the boat. Then riding the camels they hurried on to the hilly country of the Shórah tribe. Early in the morning, when the watchmen got up, they missed the prisoner, and immediately horsemen and footmen went in every direction to find him out. Intimation being given to Mírzá Ghází Beg at Fatehbágh he began to look sharp, lest that intrepid blind man should make a night attack on him. Daryá Khán, for fear of his life, left no stone unturned to rearrest the escaped convict. With some difficulty he got a clue and going on the tracks, he overtook the two camels in the hills. In the conflict that ensued, Jaafaralí was killed and Abul Kásim dismounted. The latter now took a stand, having collected a heap of stones near himself, which he began to shower at Daryá Khán. Being alone, Daryá Khán went here and there to secure some men to help him. In this attempt he lost his way and walked away from the scene of fight. After some time he met some headman of the village who seeing crows hovering in one direction understood that that was the scene of conflict, where the murdered man was lying. So he brought Daryá Khán to the spot, where he found Abul Kásim still sitting in one place. He was tied on the camel and Jaafaralí's head cut off and placed before him. He was then brought to the town and after exposing him to the public in that bloody plight, Abul Kásim was again thrown into prison.

It is said that Jaafaralí had a faithful dog, which, for two days, continually was sitting at the foot of the pole on which Jaafaralí's head was fixed in the midst of the market. When, on the third day the head was buried, the dog remained at the tomb for several days and then slowly left the place.

When Ghází Beg heard of Abul Kásim's recapture he sent a horse and a robe of honour as a present to Arab Kúkah and increased the allowances of Daryá Khán.

Mírzá Ghází's visit to Emperor Akbar and after the latter's death, to Emperor Jahángír.

Mírzá Ghází Beg had his mind at ease now and so he left Fathbagh on his forward journey. At Bakhar he met Nawáb Said Khán, to whom he gave his explanation for the delay. It is said that the Nawáb was so much struck with the proud and over bearing look of the Mírzá that he remarked to his son Mírzá Sandulláh that he found marks of future glory and prosperity in the face of the young man and he requested the Mírzá to take his son in his company and keeping, like a brother. Thenceforth the two young men became intimate friends. In playing or in hunting they were always seen together. The party travelled on in this way, till they arrived at the capital city of A'grah in 1013 A.H. (1604 A.D.).

The Emperor received Mírzá Ghází Beg with marked distinction. He conferred his father's honours on him and made him the governor of the Súbah of Sind. After the next few months, in the next year, Akbar died and was succeeded by his son Jahángír.* Being advised by some evil counsellors the Mírzá left A'grah for Tattá clandestinely. He had hardly arrived at his capital, when he received Jahángír's orders to present himself before him. At the same time, Mír Abdurrazák was appointed to be in charge of Sehwán, Lóhrí port and Tattá. Ghází Beg lost no time in going to the Emperor in response to his call, and notwithstanding the backbiting of some men, he was received very well by the Emperor, who kept him in his court for some time as a wise counsellor.

It is said on one of those days the Emperor Jahángír was in consultation with his courtiers with regard to the revolt made by prince Khusró. The Emperor wished to call Mírzá Ghází Beg in order to see what advice he gave. The others told him that the Mírzá was a young inexperienced person and that his council would not be very sound, but the Emperor said Ghází Beg had been a ruler and as such must know well how to solve political difficulties. And so he was called and asked as to what he had to say in the matter. Ghází Beg said "whatever your imperial majesty is inclined to do, is the best."

* His name was Núruddín Muhammad Salím.

Being further pressed to give his opinion freely, he replied "when you have put one foot in your stirrup I shall say what I have to say." The Emperor understood what he meant and was much pleased with it, for he had already made up his mind to march against the prince and to quell the rebellion by forces. This was done and the whole affair ended in success.

Rebellion of Khusró Khán Charkas.

When Mírzá Ghází Beg was about to start on his journey to Ágrah, he wanted to leave Ahmad Beg Sultán at Tattá and take away Khusró Khán Charkas with him, as he was rather suspicious about his faithfulness. But Khusró Khán tried several means through some intercessors to get himself free and at length succeeded. So he was permitted to stay at Tattá and as Ahmad Beg Sultán urged that in the presence of Khusró Khán he would have no influence with the people, Mírzá Ghází Beg asked him (Ahmad Beg) to accompany him. After he had visited the Emperor and received honour from him, Ahmad Beg Sultán was sent back to Tattá under the sanction of the Emperor, and Khusró Khán was asked to retain criminal work, but to give up the civil or revenue work to Ahmad Beg. Khusró Khán obeyed the orders, but he conspired with some other persons to find an occasion to show disrespect to Ahmad Beg publicly, so that he should give up in disgust the idea of governing the country. But Ahmad Beg coming to know of this, secretly left the place with the assistance of Abul Káshi Arghún, who had that day arrived from Nasarpúr and went to the Emperor's camp, though he was long pursued by Khusró Khán's men.

Mírzá Ghází Beg is sent to Kandhár.

Sháh Beg Khán was the governor of Kandhár on behalf of the Emperor. In 1015 A. H. (1606 A. D.) Haidar, one of Sháh Beg's men, grew disloyal and refractory and brought an army from Khurásán and laid siege to Kandhár. On receiving the report, the Emperor Akbar deputed Mírzá Kurrah Khán to be the governor of the Súbah of Kandhár and Mírzá Ghází Beg was made his companion or assistant. They started with a large army but unfortunately Kurrah Khán died on the way. His men wanted to send the valuable property left by

him to his son at Bakhar, but Ghází Beg suggested that as he had not yet received any money from his native estate, the deceased general's property might be given to him as a loan for use during the expedition. And without waiting for their decision, he ordered the drums to be beaten and the army marched out under his command. All were now obliged to suspend their private inclinations and to co-operate with the Mírzá in his undertaking, that had been taken under the orders of their common master, the Emperor. Luckily the army had hardly gone beyond two or three stages in the Kandhár territory when the Khurásán forces fled in fear, and the victory was proclaimed to be Mírzá Ghází Beg's.

As Ghází Beg had now received letters about Khusró Khán's rebellion, he was allowed by the Emperor to leave straight for Bakhar in order to take necessary steps for mending the affairs of Sind. But soon after that he was called back from Bakhar as some of his ill-wishers had represented to the Emperor that Mírzá Ghází Beg wanted to be an independent ruler. Ghází Beg came to the Emperor, when the latter was on his way from Kábul to Láhór. The Emperor was so much pleased with him that he appointed him the governor of the Súbah of Kandhár, and increased his titles and Jágírs.

Thus, getting the province of Kandhár in addition to the districts of Tattá, Sehwán and part of Multán, Mírzá Ghází Beg came from Láhór to Multán. From here he wanted to send an agent to Kandhár before he was able to go thither himself. He first nominated Mírzá Muhammad Amán Tarkhán but as the latter had first to go on some business to Tattá, he appointed Ahmad Beg Sultán to the post, giving him the title of Iatimád Khán. This nobleman hastened to Kandhár and with a wise policy and kind behaviour put the affairs of that division, that had been so long in confusion, into proper order.

Mírzá Ghází Beg thus got an opportunity of coming to Bakhar and settling the public and private affairs of that side that badly required his presence and interference. He then came to Kandhár through Siwí and Ganjábah. Taking some rest there, he deputed Bhái Khán son of Khusró Khán and another, to fight against the Afgháns,

and appointed Rái Mánikchand son of Rái Khóriah to march against Haidar, Sháh Beg's refractory servant. He sent Mír Abdulláh Sultán, titled Mír Khán, as an ambassador to Sháh Abbás the king of Persia,* with rich presents to secure his good will. And now he began to rule quietly at Kandhár.

Khusró Khán Charkas captured by Hindú Khán.

On receiving complaints, to the effect that Khusró Khán had been misappropriating and misusing the public money at Tattá Mírzá Ghází Beg was advised by his nobles to send some agents to examine the accounts and to make a report about it; accordingly Sáindinah son-in-law to Rái Khóriah was sent with the title of Hindú Khán to Tattá to check the accounts and to take the money matters of the place into his charge. He came and discovered several defalcations and embezzlements of Khusró Khán and made his report about it to Mírzá Ghází Beg personally on his return to Kandhár.

It is said that Khusró Khán Charkas, having found himself in power and being away from the real owner of the place, began to abuse his power. He put his grandsons in power. One of them, Muhammad Beg son of Rustam Beg, who was the governor of Nerún Kót, dealt very cruelly with the Arghúns and Tarkháns. Another had carried away by force a Hindú girl of haberdashers'

---

* This king belonged to the Safawí dynasty of the kings of Persia, about whose origin and members, mention has been made in a note in Chapter VII, (p. 61.) The following were the kings of the line.

1. Sháh Ismáil, who appeared in 750 A.H. (1543 A.D.) and reigned for 24 years.
2. Sháh Tahmasb son of No. 1 who reigned for 54 years.
3. Sháh Ismáil II, son of No. 2 who reigned for 1 year and 7 months.
4. Sultán Muhammad, son of No. 2.
5. Sháh Abbás son of No. 4, who reigned for 42 years.
6. Sháh Safí, son of Safí Mírzá son of No. 5 who reigned for 14 years.
7. Sháh Abbás II son of No. 6 who reigned for 25 years.
8. Sulaimán Sháh son of No. 7 who reigned till the year 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.).
9. Sultán Husain son of No. 8.

caste, which deed had caused some rioting and bloodshed. These doings of his, together with his criminal misappropriation of the public money, were fully brought to the notice of Mírzá Ghází Beg, who became very angry. He determined to punish Khusró Khán and his relations and to degrade them to a very low position in society. With this object in view he had sent Sáindinah Hindú Khán with Ráná Mánikchand and Shahbáz Khán to bring Khusró Khán Charkas with all his relations, young and old.

Hindú Khán came to Nasarpúr and wanted first to settle the affairs outside and then to enter the city. Mukím Sultán with all his brothers, at the instigation of Khusró Khán, laid siege to him at that place, and Abul Kásim Sultán, who had been set at liberty at the intercession of Khusró Khán incited his relations to stop supplies to the besieged. Ráná Mánikchand, happening to come out of the fort in order to bring about reconciliation, was cut down by an Arghún. Hearing this, Mánikchand's son Ráising issued from the fort with a party of soldiers and vowed to be revenged on the murderers of his father, before cremating the latter's body. He fought with the Arghúns, killed their chief, Sherbeg, a son-in-law of Sháh Kásim Arghún with many picked warriors, secured their animals and property, and then went to burn the body of his father. He now returned successful to Mírzá Ghází Beg, who honoured him more than his father.

After all Hindú Khán succeeded in taking every thing out of Khusró Khan's charge, though the latter had tried his best to turn the chief landowners against him. Khusró Khán with all his relations was brought to Hálah Kandí to be taken by Hindú Khán to Mírzá Ghází Beg at Kandhár, when he got the news of the Mírzá's death.

Mírzá Ghází Beg's death.

Seeing Mírzá Ghází Beg rising to power more and more, from day to day, some of his kinsmen and friends became jealous of him and resolved to do away with him by violence. Accordingly in the year 1201 A.H. (1612 A.D.) at their instigation he was put to death by a house-hold servant of his, by name Abdullatíf. His body was conveyed to Tattá and there buried in a mausoleum, in the neighbourhood of his father.

His character.

Mírzá Ghází Beg was a brave soldier and a generous noble. He was a very good ruler. It is said that he used to go about at night in disguise to learn the state of the country and of his people's mind. He was so liberal that notwithstanding his holding big Jágírs of Kandhár, Tattá, Sehwán and Multán, he was very poor and was often in want of money. Once his accountants requested him to see the accounts as the expenditure was exceeding the income. Mírzá Ghází Beg is said to have torn the account papers saying "my noble father spent what he had and did not leave any thing for me. The all-bountiful has made me comfortable and has given me plenty. I thank Him for not leaving me in want of food. As so many years of my life have passed away, the remaining also will do the same. Do not trouble me with these things."

He was a man of learning and composed poetry too, taking *Karí* (reader) as his nom-de-plume. It is said that there was another poet with the same nom-de-plume at Kandhár in his time. He called him, gave him rich presents, and requested him to leave that nom-de-plume for him and take another. Both Ghází Beg and his father were very good musicians and were fond of singing. Their love for that fine art may be imagined from the general belief of the public that anyone, not having any children, who would sing and play on musical instruments for some days in their mausoleums, would be blessed with children.

Concluding remarks.

As Mírzá Ghází Beg had no issue and as Hindú Khán was soon driven away by Khusró Khán who now considered himself quite secure in possession of Tattá, the Emperor Jahángír thought it better to annex that part of the country to his empire and to govern it like many other provinces of his by appointing some of his men as governors.

Thus ended the rule of Tarkháns. About the close of Jahángír's reign, Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán was appointed a governor for some days, as will be seen in the next chapter, but no other Tarkhán ever afterwards held the reins of government.

CHAPTER XV.*

The Su'bahda'rs or Governors sent by the Emperors of Dehlí.

After Mírzá Ghází Beg's death in 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.) Khusró Khán Charkas tried to be independent and Hindú Khán, being unable to cope with him, wanted to retire but was asked by the Emperor to retain the government in his hands till a new man was sent. Khusró Khán now saw that the province had been annexed and that he could do nothing in opposition to the Emperor; so he left the place and went away † The following governors were appointed successively to the Súbah of Sind, ‡ with Tattá as their capital.

1. Mírzá Rustam, son of Sultán Husain Mírzá son of Bahrám Mírzá, son of Sháh Ismáil Safawí, king of Persia. This nobleman was at first the governor of Dáwar, a province of Kandhár, but when Khurásán was conquered by Uzbaks he left that country and attached himself to the Emperor Akbar in 1002 A. H. (1593 A. D). In Jahángír's time he was sent as the governor of Tattá with the rank of Panj-hazárí. He got 2 lacs of rupees as a reward and travelling allowance and the whole revenue of Tattá as his salary. In fact Tattá was given to him as a Jágír, but he was

---

* This chapter is also taken from the Tuhfatulkirám.

† This is the last we hear of Khusró Khán Charkas. It may be noted here that Khusró Khán, or Charkas Khán as he is generally called, was descended from that branch of Chaugez Kháns' children that ruled Kabchák. He fell into the hands of Mírzá Ísá in his infancy and soon rose to be an important person as we have seen. During the time he was in charge of Tattá he is said to have built 360 public buildings, mosques, tombs, wells, bridges, &c., at an immense cost. He did this charitable work by way of penance for having once accidentally seen a neighbour's wife while she was bathing. They say he was about to root out his eye-balls, but learned men suggested that he might do this penance. He now went to Lóhrí fort and thence to Persia. He had a son whose name was Lutifullah called also Bháí Khán and he has been already mentioned, (Tuhfatulkirám).

‡ Properly speaking the officer appointed in charge of the Súbah was called "Sáhibi Súbah" or "Súbahdár" from which is derived the present title of Súbedár or the name Sóbdár. These officers were graded as Panj-hazárí (commanding 5,000 men) and downwards.

instructed to try his best to improve the country and look to the comfort of the people, who had suffered much during the reign of Tarkháns. But unfortunately he acted quite contrary to the hopes entertained by the Emperor, and there were so many complaints against him that he was suspended and called away, Rájah Sankdilán holding the charge in his absence. After 2 years, however, he was appointed to the Súbah of Alahábád and then of Pátná and Bahár. About the close of Sháh Jahán's reign he retired and lived at A'grah up to his death, his son Mírzá Murád being taken in service for him.

2. Mírzá Mustafá Kháń, succeeded Mírzá Rustam.

3. Mír Báyazíd Bukhárí came next to Tattá in 1028 A. H. (1618 A. D.) in the 15th year of Jahángír's reign. He had the grade of Du-Hazárí (commander of 2,000 men). He had been the Faojdár of Bakhar and from that post he was promoted to this.

4. Nawáb Sharíful-Mulk, known as Sharíf Khán. He was one-eyed. It was in his time in 1035 A. H. (1625 A. D.) in the 21st year of Jahángír's reign that prince Sháh Jahán quarrelled with his father and came to Tattá, with a few persons, in order to go to Irák Ajam. Sharíful-Mulk tried to harass him and to drive him away. Several skirmishes took place between them, in which many lives were lost. It is said that the prince's wife being pregnant desired to eat some pomegranates. Prince Sháh Jahán sent a message to Sharíful-Mulk requesting him to get him the fruit. The latter sent for a European gunner and made him fire in the direction of the prince. Owing to the sudden report of the gun, the princess miscarried the child she bore, and Sharíful-Mulk was so angry with himself for pointing out the wrong direction to the gunner that he plucked out one of his eye-balls, and from that day he became one-eyed. For this act of enmity, when Sháh Jahán ascended the throne he put him to death together with some of his friends.

5. Mírzá Ísá Tarkhán, a cousin of Mírzá Ghází Beg and a grandson of Mírzá Ísá, the elder, who in the beginning of Mírzá Ghází's reign joined Abul Kásim Sultán in raising the standard of revolt. He had left Sind

out of fear and come to the Emperor's camp. He became the governor of Tattá with the rank of Chár-Hazárí (commander of 4,000 men), in 1037 A. H. (1627 A. D.) and in the last year of Jahángír's reign. He was soon sent to defend the fort of Karnál, where he remained up to his death. He was buried on the Maklí hill and his "Ránk" (Mausoleum) is well known, for which he himself is said to have sent stones during his life-time and which he built when he was 18 years old. Its cost was borne by the revenue of the village of Nórái, which was set apart for the repairs of the tombs of his elders. Some say the Mírzá died, while the building was being built and was yet incomplete.

6. Nawáb Amír Khán. His name was Mír Abul Baká and he was the son of Nawáb Kásim Khán of Hirát. When Sháh Jahán succeeded his father Jahángír to the throne, he ordered Sharíf Khán and his friends the Jám of Kakrálah and others to be killed. The orders were carried out by Nawáb Amír Khán. The town of Amírpur was built by this Nawáb, which became the chief place of Bathórah and Bahrámpúr and Palejah. He was a very learned and witty person. He built a mosque on the site of a Hindú temple in the street of Bháí Khán. His body was buried in a *rank* on the Maklí hill. He is said to have lisped or stammered in pronouncing certain letters of the alphabet. But he was so clever that while speaking fluently he avoided words containing those letters and substituted other words of the same meaning in their place.

7. Nawáb Muzaffar Khán, whose name was Mír Abdurrazzák. He built a big mosque at Tattá.

8. Sayyed Ibráhím, son of Mír Báyazíd Bukhárí (No. 3).

9. Nawáb Mughul Khán came as the governor of Tattá in 1057 A. H. (1647 A. D.) in the 21st year of Sháh Jahán's reign. In his time, in the year 1059 A. H. (1649 A. D.) in the 23rd year of Sháh Jahán's reign, Tattá together with Bakhar and Sehwán were given as an endowment to prince Aorangzeb, who, before this, held the province of Multán as a Jágír. Henceforth the governors of Tattá were sent by him as his agents.

10. Nawáb Zafar Khán. He came to Tattá in 1063 A.H. (1652 A.D.) in the 37th year of the Emperor's reign. He remained here for 6 years. He planted the celebrated "Musk garden." In 1065 A.H. (1654 A.D.) Sipahr Shikóh son of Dárá Shikóh, eldest son of the Emperor was entrusted with the government of Tattá with the rank of "Haft Hazárí" (commander of 7,000 men), and the governor of the place was made his agent or lieutenant. About this time Aorangzeb Álamgír ascended the throne of Dehlí in 1069 A.H. (1658 A.D.).

11. Kabád Khán came in 1069 A.H. (1658 A.D.) In his time famine and plague broke out in the country. Soon after, prince Dárá Shikóh arrived in the country, which fact still increased the troubles of the people. That prince, believing that the citadel was not worth residing at and not finding it to his taste, ordered it to be burnt to ashes.

12. Nawáb Lashkar Khán. He came to Tattá in 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) and in the 10th year of Aorangzeb's reign. He remained for 3 years and was succeeded by

13. Nawáb Sayyed Izzat Khán, commonly known as Izzat Pír, who had been the Faujdár of Bakhar. He came in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.). After 2 years he was recalled.

14. Nawáb Abú Nasrat Khán, who was maternal uncle to Emperor Álamgír Aorangzeb. He was a pious nobleman and was a poet. He came in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.) in the 12th year of Aorangzeb's reign. He remained for 2 years.

15. Nawáb Saádat Khán. He also remained for 2 years.

16. Nawáb Sayyed Izzat Khán. He came a second time in 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.) being the 13th governor at first. He remained for 6 years.

17. Nawáb Khánazád Khán. He came in 1090 A.H. (1679 A. D.) in the 22nd year of the Emperor's reign. He governed at Tattá for about 5 years. He wrote very good poetry.

18. Nawáb Sardár Khán. He came in 1095 A.H. (1683 A.D.) and remained for 3 years. In his time, too, famine and plague broke out. Towns that were depopulated in those days, were never populated again.

19. Nawáb Murid Khán. He was the son of a rajah and had recently become a convert to Islámism. He came in 1099 A.H. (1687 A.D.). He brought with him a few thousands of Rájputs, who so much annoyed the Musalman population of the place that he was removed from the post, after 2 years. After retirement too he spent time in Faghlakábád with the climate of which place he had been much charmed.

20. Nawáb Zabardast Khán. He came in 1101 A.H. (1689 A.D.) and died in the same year.

21. Nawáb Abú Nasrat Khán. He came a second time, having first come as 14th governor. He remained for 2 years and some months.

22. Nawáb Hifzulláh Khán, son of Saadulláh Khán the wazír of the late Emperor Sháh Jáhán. He came in 1103 A.H. (1691 A.D.) in the 35th year of Emperor Aorangzeb's reign. He held Tattá and Sehwán both. He was a very charitable person. As about this time prince Muizzuddín was coming to Sind to arrest Míyán Dín Muhammad Sirái, the Nawáb personally superintended the work of putting a bridge over the river at Sehwán. He got a sun-stroke and died of its effects at Sehwán in 1112 A.H. (1700 A.D).* He constructed a new fort at Tattá, which was left incomplete, as he was not allowed further expenditure on that account.

23. Said Khán, known more commonly as Khánazád Khán. He came as the governor of Tattá and Sehwán in 1113 A.H. (1701 A.D.) in the 45th year of the Emperor's reign. He himself resided at Tattá and sent his son Arshad Khán to live at Sehwán.

---

* Mir Ghulám Alí Belgrámi has found this year by totalling the value of the letters of the following verse of the Korán.

"To them will be given the gardens of paradise for the good deeds done by them."

24. Nawáb Mír Amínuddín Khán Husain, son of Sayyed Abul Makáram son of Mír Abul Báká Amír Khán (No. 6). He came to Tattá in 1114 A. H. (1702 A. D.). He was a reader of books and spent much of his time in the company of learned men. He wrote two big books, one treating of fourteen arts and sciences and another of general knowledge of the world.

25. Nawáb Yúsuf Khán Tarí. He came in the next year and was recalled after one year.

26. Nawáb Ahmad Yár Khán. He belonged to the tribe of Barlás, his forefathers having come from Khúsháb, in the province of Láhór. His father Alahyár Khán was the governor of Láhór and Multán and the Faojdár of Ghazní for 40 years. He remained for 3 years. During his time, that is in 1118 A. H. (1706 A. D.) on 26th of Zíkaad, Alamgír Aorangzeb passed away and was succeeded by his eldest son Bahádur Sháh. This Nawáb built the bridge on the Alíján which was close to the eastern gate of the city fort.

27. Nawáb Atr Khán. His name was Saíd Khán Bahádur and was the son of Saíd Khán the elder (No. 23). He came in 1119 A. H. (1707 A. D.) under the orders of the new Emperor. He was recalled after a year and some months.

28. Nawáb Mihín Khán. He came in 1121 A. H. (1709 A. D).

29. Nawáb Shákir Khán. He came in 1123 A. H. (1711 A. D.) and in the same year he was recalled and was succeeded by

30. Nawáb Mihín Khán who came a second time to Tattá. In his time in the year 1124 A. H. (1712 A. D.) the Emperor Bahádur Sháh died and was succeeded by his son Muizzuddín Jahándár Sháh.

31. Nawáb Khwájah Muhammad Khalíl Khán came to Tattá in 1124 A. H. (1712 A.D.).

In the course of nine months prince Farrukh Siyar dethroned Jahándár Sháh with the assistance of the Sayyeds of Bárah and himself took the throne.

32. Nawáb Atr Khán son of Said Khán (No. 27). He was a young and inexperienced person. He left his whole work to one Muhammad Yaakúb Kashmírí. Soon, confusion broke out in the affairs of administration. He had to fight with Mír Lutfalí Khán and was killed in the battle that ensued. Mír Lutfalí Khán having some influence at the court, was made his successor.

33. Mír Lutfalí Khán. His name was Mír Muhammad Shafía. He was grandson to Mír Muhammad Yúsuf Mahdí Razawí a saintly person of Bakhar. His government lasted from the beginning of 1125 A.H. to 1127 A.H. (1713—1715 A.D.). He earned the title of Sháatalí Khán. He was a powerful ruler and a learned man. He died in 1144 A.H. (1731 A.D.). Himmat was his nom-de-plume in the poetry written by him. The poet Muhammad Hasan lived in his time. He had two sons Mír Ghazánfaralí and Mír Zulfikáralí whose descendents are still living at Tattá.

34. Nawáb Aazam Khán, son of Sálih Khán. He came to Tattá in 1128 A.H. (1715 A.D.) in the 5th year of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's reign. Before his coming his agent Khwájah Muhammad Khalíl was doing work for him. He governed the country for about 4 years. It was in his time, that Sháh Ináyat Súfí the great saint of the time died at Jhók or Miránpur on the bank of the Gházíáh or Gajjáh, in the parganah of Bathórah. It is said that the Sayyeds of Bulrí were on inimical terms with this pious man and his disciples, as the disciples of the Sayyeds and the Fakírs of Bulrí hearing the good name of Sháh Ináyat left Bulrí and went over to Jhók. At the instigation of these Sayyeds as well as of some zamindárs like Núr Muhammad Palejah and Hamal Jat, Nawáb Aazam Khán wrote a report to the Emperor, who ordered Khudáyár Khán Abbásí better known as Núr Muhammad Kalhórah to collect an army and extirpate that leader of the Súfí Fakírs. Accordingly Khudáyár Khán came with a large force and besieged the town of Jhók. This siege went on for four months. The

Fakírs occasionally made a sortie and fought with the besiegers. Finding that it was difficult to take the place Khudáyár Khán made peace with Sháh Ináyat. On this excuse an opportunity was soon availed of and the pious man was beheaded on the 9th of Saffar 1130 A.H. (1717 A.D.). Another pious man Makhdúm Rahmatulláh was also ill-treated in the same way, as he was made a prisoner and put in chains. And in the next year Farrukh Siyar was succeeded by Muhammad Sháh.*

35. Nawáb Mahábat Khán son of Muhammad Mun-im Khán, titled Khán Khánán the prime minister of Sháh Álam Bahádur Sháh. He came to Tattá in 1132 A.H. (1719 A.D.) in the second year of Muhammadsháh's reign. He was a very good man, respected, pious and learned. He was a good poet taking Kázim as his nom-de-plume. He died at Tattá in 1135 A.H. (1722 A.D.) and his body was carried to Hindustán *viá* Láhór. He was succeeded by his son, a minor.

36. Sultán Mahmúd Khán. His mother, the widow of the deceased Nawáb sent Rází Muhammad Khán to act as his guardian and manager. This gentleman came in 1136 A.H. (1723 A.D.) and remained for one year. In the next year the post was given to

37. Nawáb Saifulláh Khán, who before his joining the post deputed Abdussamía Khán, brother to Sháh Abdul Ghafúr of Hálah Kandí, of the tribe of Sanwriáh, to administer the state affairs for him. The Nawáb himself arrived at Tattá in the month of Zíhaj 1137 A.H. (1724 A.D.). He brought several learned men with him. In his time great improvement was made in every way. Commerce also improved much. He was a Shiah and encouraged that sect. He effectually prohibited the use of liquor and other intoxicating drugs. In short he is spoken of as a very good man and an excellent governor. He died in 1143 A.H. (1730 A.D.). He was buried on the Maklí hill. His son Sádik-Alí Khán remained in charge of the government for a short time till he was relieved by

* He was murdered by the same Sayyeds who had raised him to the throne. This was in 1130 A.H. (1717 A.D.). He was succeeded by two other princes who died within a few months one after another. Then Muhammad Sháh son of Sháh Jahán came to the throne.

38. Nawáb Dilerdil Khán. He came to Tattá in 1146 A.H. (1733 A.D.) and remained there for two years. He was a very good man. About this time, the Súbah of Tattá was given to Amír Khán as a reward, and was thenceforth held on a sort of contract or lease.

39. Nawáb Himmat Dilerdil Khán. He hastened to take the contract of the revenue of Tattá from Amír Khán, fearing lest some other person should find mistakes in the accounts of his father. He came to Tattá in 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.) Although the contract system could not come up to the Jágír system, this Nawáb was fortunate enough to continue in charge of the place for 4 years.

40. Nawáb Sádik Alí Khán son of Nawáb Saifulláh Khán (No. 32). He came in 1149 A.H. (1736 A.D.) in the 19th year of the Emperor's reign. Of course he had taken the contract from Amír Khán. In the first year he somehow managed to make up the amount for which he had contracted. But in the next year he failed and had to show a great deficiency and so he was unwilling to retain the charge.

41. Nawáb Khudáyár Khán, commonly known by the name of Mián Núr Muhammad Kalhórah Abbásí. He was a nobleman enjoying the greatest confidence and regard of the Emperor. He got the government of Bakhar, Sehwán and Tattá. He immediately sent an agent of his, Shekh Ghulám Muhammad son of Shekh Azízulláh, who relieved Nawáb Sádik Alí Khán of the charge.

Thus the government of Sind came to the hands of the Kalhórás, in which it is said to have remained as long as it had remained in the hands of the Arghún dynasty and longer than it had remained in the hands of the Sammahs and the Tarkháns. We give an account of that dynasty together with that of the Tálpurs who succeeded them, in the second part of this volume.

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
ROYAL ASIATIC

PART II.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.*

ORIGIN AND ANCESTRY OF THE KALHO'RAHS OR ABBA'SI'S.

The origin of the Kalhórahs.

The Kalhórahs are said to have been descended from Abbás, paternal uncle to the Prophet Muhammad.† One of their ancestors, by name Mián O'dhánah, who lived in the country of Kech Makrán was celebrated for his piety and virtue, and was honoured as a spiritual guide by a large number of people. His immediate descendants were known by the titular name of O'dhánah. One of these, Thal by name, twenty-fifth in descent from Mián O'dhánah, invaded Káhrah Belah, which was then in the hands of the Gujar tribe, and took possession of it. On his death Thal was succeeded by his son Bhíl. The fort of Barlás, and the cemetery known as "Móti" still remain, and remind us of his time. Bhíl's son Chúnah, having quarrelled with his brothers about something, left his native place and in company with a large number of his defendents went to Khambháth to live among the tribe of Udhejah. Here he married a daughter of Dharablál Sammah, a big landholder of the tálukah of Dipál Kángrah. A son was born to this couple, who was called Muhammad, and who is considered to be the latest ancestor of the Kalhórahs.

Jám Chúnah and his sons, Dáúd and Láshár.

At the time of the agents of the Ghazní and Ghórí kings, this Chúnah came to Multán with the assistance of some Ránás, and attached himself to the rulers of the place. He soon rose to be the leader of a number of tribes, and securing the hand of a girl from each tribe, by way of pledge, he established himself as a chief with the title of Jám. By his twelve wives he had eighteen sons, who became the fathers of large families. One of them, Chóliah, a grandson of Ráná Chanah son of Dethah

* The first 13 chapters about the Kalhórhs are translated from the Tuhfatulkirám.

† Hence they are often called Abbásis.

had a son whom he called Dáúd, from whom are descended the Dáúdpótáhs. Another, by name Lashár, became the ancestor of the tribe of Lásháris, who resided at Bhaj near the hilly district of Róh Kachhah.

In short Jám Chínah fixed his residence for some time at Chínah Belí, in the tálukah of Bhiráló of the parganah of Lóhrí.* Subsequently going over to Khambháth, he passed away on the bank of the Sángrah, where he was buried. Mír Chákar Balóch, and A'rí Dádní of the tribe of Chanah were his cousins.

After Chínah's death, none of his descendants rose to be of importance, except A'dam Shah, who was ninth in descent from him, being the son of Kajan, son of Sahab son of Khán, son of Tóhar son of Rínah son of Sháh Muhammad (*alias* Sháham) son of Ibráhím son of Muhammad son of Jám Chínah,† and who rose to occupy the holy seat vacated by the celebrated saint of the time, Mírán Muhammad of Júnpur. After travelling over a great part of the country he settled at the village of Hairí in the táluka of Chándúkah.‡ Here he was joined by Kubrá Barnah with his dependents, who came from the village of Dabah and became his disciples.

Mián A'dam Sháh.

At that time Nawáb Khán Khánán¶ having come to pay respects to Mian A'dam Sháh and to ask his blessings, at the request of Kubrá Barnah, granted to him the zamindarí of Chándúkah, which at first belonged to the tribe of Chándiah.‖ After some time A'dam Sháh went over to Multán, to pay a visit to Lál I'san the celebrated living saint of the time, and a descendent of Shekh

* Now Róhrí. The village of Bhiráló near Róhrí, in the Khairpur territory, still exists.

† Each of these men bore the title of Mián, which continued to be prefixed to the names of all the Kalhórah rulers. The title carries with it the meaning of a spritual guide rather than a chief.

‡ The parganah round about Larkannah is even now called Chándkó.

¶ This is Abdurrahím Khán, son of Bairam Khán, who came to Sind in 998 A. H. (1589 A. D.) in the reign of Akbar (see Part I of this volume).

‖ This then is the origin of the name of the parganah Chándúkah.

Baháuddín Multání.* A large number of disciples joined him here and he was obliged to occupy a spacious tract of country. This excited the jealousy of the landowners of the place, at whose instigation the ruler of Multán had him killed and thus he became a martyr.

A'ghá Sháh Muhammad.

In accordance with his dying request A'ghá Sháh Muhammad, the Kótwál of the town of Multán, who during the late pious man's imprisonment had received spiritual guidance from him, brought his dead body to Sakhar and buried it there on the top of a hill.† Then returning to Multán he made his late master's two minor sons Ibráhím and Dáúd and his dependents, who had dispersed after the tragedy, settle in one place and himself took up the seat of his late spiritual guide. This Sháh Muhammad, the Kótwál, originally belonged to the Balóch tribe of Kherí who resided in Chatrbár, near the mountainous pass of Siwí.

Miáu Iliás son of Dáúd son of A'dam Sháh.

When he died, he was succeeded by Mián Iliás son of Dáúd son of A'dam Sháh, who tried his best to collect disciples and followers. When he passed away, he was buried at the village of Dherí which is situated between the village of Hatrí and Ládkánah.‡

CHAPTER II.

Mia'n Sha'hal Muhammad and Mi'an Nasír Muhammad.

Mián Sháhal Muhammad.

On his death, Mián Iliás was succeeded by his brother Sháh Alí better known as Sháhal Muhammad. In this pious man's time the number of his disciples increased largely and they occupied themselves in cultivating land. The canal of Ládkánah was dug by them. He secured land on both the banks of the canal from the tribes of Sángí and Abrah and divided it among his children and brothers, and

* A short description of this pious man is given in Part I.

† A'dam Sháh's hill is still well known at Sukhur. We use the correct spelling of Sakhar in the text like Bakhar.

‡ Usually written as Lárkána.

himself selected his residence in the village of Habíbání. This rise of Mián Shábal Muhammad excited jealousy in the hearts of some of the Abrah chiefs like Jám Siddík and Jalál Khán, who forgetting the duties of disciples, conspired with the landowners of the place, and after several skirmishes with their master caused him to be killed under the orders of the governor of Bakhar. He was buried at the village of Marandhah in the out-skirts of Chándúkah in the parganah of Khárí.

Mián Nasír Muhammad.

On his death, Mián Shábal Muhammad was succeeded by his son Mián Nasír Muhammad, in the year 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.) This Mián acquired more celebrity for piety and virtue than any of his predecessors, and therefore was envied by most of the people of his time. Accordingly the natives of the place came and incited the Mughuls of Bakhar to harass and trouble him. Mián Nasír Muhammad was therefore obliged to leave the place and go to a sandy desert. After some days of hardship and want, he returned and fixed his residence in the land of the Panwhárs. Mír Panwhár, the chief of the Panwhárs, taking an army from the governor of Bakhar, commanded among other leaders by Mírzá Khán Pání, the governor of Siwí, came and faught with Mián Nasír Muhammad, but soon a truce was made and Mián Nasír Muhammad was sent to the Emperor A'lamgír,* who kept him in confinement for some time. During this period, fighting went on with the Mián's followers, until Mián Nasír Muhammad managed to escape and returned to his native place. He once more settled his affairs satisfactorily and began to lead a comfortable and secure life among his followers. He laid the foundation of a new town on the land of the Panwhárs, bounded on one side by the hills of Róh and on another by a stream of cool water. He called the town by the name of Khárí and himself took up his residence in it. The village of Hatrí he gave to Faojah Fakír, one of his followers, and the land of Káchhah to another of his Fakírs by name Ináyet Sháh. His followers, who so long had deserted their villages and strongholds, returned and settled permanently and occupied themselves in extending their landed property and

* *I.e.* Aorangzeb whoascended the throne of Dehlí in 1069 A.H. (1684 A.D.)

territorial possessions. On one occasion they had to fight in an open field with Mír Yakúb Khán, the governor of Bakhar * and were victorious Similarly they fought several times with the governors of different neighbouring places and on all these occasions their arms were attended with success. The parganah of Lákhát was taken from the Mughuls of Síwistáu † on a farming contract. Makan Mórah was secured through the exertions of Farid Bhágat, and the parganah of Sáhtí was brought into possession through Feróz Wírar, who built a town there calling it Naoshahrah.‡ After this, the Siráis ¶ were firmly established in different parts of the country. After a successful reign of 35 or 36 years Mián Nasír Muhammad died and was buried on a red sand-hill in the village of Khárí ‖

It is said that in olden days, two brothers, both models of virture and piety, lived at this place and maintained themselves by cultivating land. One of them was single and another was married. When they raised their crops the single brother, considering that his brother had a family and that his expenses were greater, removed a large quantity of corn from his own heap and put it, unseen, into his brother's heap. At the same time, the brother having a family believing that his brother was a good man and did not much care for worldly profits, added a portion of his own granary to his brother's. Both the brothers continued doing so for some time, without knowing each other's actions and motives. Owing to the piety of their minds and the honesty and goodness of their principles, though they continued consuming the produce of their land for their usual wants, it never could be exhausted. After all they passed away leaving a large heap of corn, which changed into a red sand-hill, that can still be seen about the place.**

---

* A descendant of this high official, bearing the same name is living now at Rohrí. The family is called Kótái Sayyeds.

† Sehwan.

‡ This is the present Naushahró Feróz.

¶ By Siráis is meant the Kalhórahs and by that name they will be often called, because they came from Sirah or the Upper Sind Frontier.

‖ The tomb is still visited by people. The place is in the Kakar Táluka.

** On that account it is named Gárhí (red).

CHAPTER III.

MIA'N DI'N MUHAMMAD AND MI'AN YA'R MUHAMMAD.

Mián Dín Muhammad son of Nasír Muhammad.

On the death of Mián Nasír Muhammad, he was succeeded by his son Mián Dín Muhammad. As he began to grow in importance and power, the landholders and governors of the neighbourhood rose against him. Mír Panwhár, whose chief town Fatehpur had been taken possession of by the Siráís, went with a complaint to the Emperor of Dehlí* and brought an order for Mírzá Khán Pinî† directing him to fight with the Siráís. This chief tried his best repeatedly to subdue the enemy but was each time repulsed. The Emperor therefore sent Amír Shekh Jahán to set matters right. Guided by Mír Panwhár, Shekh Jahán attacked the Fakírs or the followers of the Mián. Feróz Wírar proceeded from Derah Kulí to meet him, and made a sudden nocturnal attack on the Amír's army at the village of Kharelah,‡ to the general confusion of the latter. He was soon after joined by the army despatched from Khárí and the two armies of Fakírs totally defeated the Amír's forces. Alahyár Khán, the governor of Bakhar fled, but being succoured by Kambar Khán Bróhí returned and fell upon the Siráís all of a sudden, causing them great loss. However, when the Siráís moved again under Mírán Sháh to meet him, he made peace with them and went away.

Fighting of the Kalhórahs with the Panwhárs and the Afgháns.

After a short time the Panwhárs again began to make a head against the Fakírs, and the Siráís of Márakpur¶ marched against them and completely defeated them, bringing a large tract of country into their possession. The Panwhárs, being now subjugated, submitted to the Siráís and began to lead a quiet life in subordination to them.

---

* This was Bahádur Sháh Sháhi Álam who succeeded his father Aorangzeb in 1113 A.H. (1706 A.D.).

† The governor of Siwi, who had fought with Mián Nasír Muhammad.

‡ Is it the present Gerelah in the Labdaryá Táluka?

¶ In some places written as Markhpur.

There still remained some disagreement with the Afgháns of Piní, the governor of Siwí and Shikárpur. For a short period there was fighting between them and the Siráís, till the Emperor's son, prince Muhammad Muizzuddín,* hearing of the death of Shekh Jahán and of the defeat of Alahyár Khán came down to Sind from Láhór. Learning of the prince's approach, Mián Dín Muhammad sent his youngest brother Mír Muhammad with Kásim and Khamal to Bakhar, in order to welcome him and win him over on his side. They succeeded in doing so and the prince much pleased with the Mián, returned towards Láhór.

Fighting of the Kalhóráhs with the imperial army and the capture of Mián Dín Muhammad.

About that time Maksúdah, the elder brother of Bahár Sháh, who was a foolish and vain person, believing that the prince had gone away without knowing how brave the natives of the place were and wishing to give him a proof of his bravery, took some troops with him and attacked and plundered Máthelah and slaughtered a number of people at Uch. When the prince heard of this rude and arrogant behaviour of the Mián's men, he became very angry and returned with the imperial army and laid waste Khárí and its dependent villages. Mián Dín Muhammad could do nothing in opposition to him and thought it prudent to remain quiet. When however the prince passed on to Siwístán,† where he halted for about 6 months, the Mián went over and submitted to him. A strong imperial detachment, was then sent to bring up his dependents, but the Siráís would not easily give in. A pitched battle was fought at Khór near the stream of Gáj, where both the sides showed great bravery. The Emperor was represented by Rájah Kájsing Bhattí and Súrijmal of Udhopur, and the Siráís were commanded by the Mián's brother Yár Muhammad, assisted by Tájah, Jádah and Bakhtár Fakírs of the Othwál tribe. Blood flowed in streams. Every one of these heroes was killed, together with a large number of people. The Mughul force was ultimately defeated, and the prince had no alternative but to return with Mián Dín Muhammad as his captive. The latter spent the remainder of his life at Multán.

---

* He was the son of Bahádur Sháh. He ascended the throne later on in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) superseding his three brothers. After a reign of 9 months he was killed by his nephew.

† Sehwán.

Mián Yár Muhammad goes to Kalát.

Meanwhile Dín Muhammad's brother Mián Yár Muhammad went to Kalát where at first the Bróhís of the place fought severe battles with him, but after all peace was made between them and they allowed Mián Yár Muhammad to live among them on his giving his two sons Mír Muhammad and Muhammad Khán as hostages for keeping the peace. This event occurred in the year 1111 A.H. (1699 A.D.).

During the next two years, Yár Muhammad led an unsettled life in Kalát and the Siráís were mostly quiet and secluded. After that period, however, that is, in 1113 A.H. (1701 A.D.) when Rájah Fakír and other Siráí chiefs joined him, Yár Muhammad took a solemn promise from them to abide by his commands, and taking Altás Khán Bróhí with an army to assist him, marched to his hereditary country.

Mián Yár Muhammad invades Sind and recaptures the chief places.

Passing Zaidí and travelling along the lake Manchhar, he came to the villages of Sanóh and Nenak in the tálukah of Hatrí. Then marching further, he first took Sámtání from Kaisar Panwhár and encamped at Káhah. From there, he sent on his brother Mír Muhammad with some Siráí chiefs, who conquered the country up to Márakpur and Gáhí Jamshed, and retook the fort of Fatehpur. Soon, they were joined by Mián Yár Muhammad himself. Altás Bróhí now seeing that the Siráís were sufficiently strong and did not much require his services, withdrew to his native place.

Shikárpur fixed as the central city under the name of Khudábád.

The number of the Siráís now went on increasing, as different parties, who had dispersed some time before, returned and joined their comrades. They took possession of Kacherah * and came to Shikárpur the chief city of the Panwhárs. They called it Khudábád and fixed it as their camp. From this centre, parties were sent in different directions, till, they recovered Khárí and Kadiárah † and dispossessed Malak Alah Baksh brother to Bakhtáwar Khán of Ládkánah.

* Perhaps Gacherah in the Moró Táluka.

† Perhaps Kandiarah.

Seeing no other help at hand Bakhtáwar Khán hastened to prince Muhammad Muizzuddín at Multán and asked his help in the matter. But the prince could not be induced by his entreaties to take his side. Unfortunately about the same time the prince resolved to go to Bakhtáwar Khán's territory, but the latter, fearing some bad result tried to dissuade the prince. This step, however, only irritated the prince who, after some fighting, defeated and killed Bakhtáwar Khán.

Siwí given to Miáu Yár Muhammad by Prince Muizzuddín.

Meanwhile the envoys of the Siráís were working at the prince's court to win him over. Soon the prince came and stopped at Bakhar, and entrusted Siwí, vacated by Bakhtáwar Khán, to Ghází Khán Dódái. As that chief was found unable to manage the affairs of that part of the country, the prince removed Ghází Khán and gave the charge to Malak Alah Baksh, brother to the deceased Bakhtáwar Khán. The charge next fell into the hands of Islám Khán and Káim Khán Naháns successively, but as none of them governed the hilly country satisfactorily, the prince gave it over to the agents of Mián Yár Muhammad and directed that the Mián should appear before him to receive the honour personally.

Mián Yár Muhammad appointed as the imperial agent, with the title of "Khudáyár Khán."

Accordingly Mián Yár Muhammad proceeded to meet the prince and at Darbelah the charge of Siwí was formally given to him by the prince's envoy Khwájah Husain Khán, with the title of "Khudáyár Khán." Thenceforth, Mián Yár Muhammad became one of the imperial agents or governors.

Mír Shahdád Tálpur distinguishes himself in fighting at Deráh Ghází Khán for the Emperor.

After giving charge of Khánpúr to Mír Amínuddín Khán, of Shikárpur to Sanjar Khán, Mubárak Khán and Hót Khán Dáúdpótáhs, and of Siwistán to Ghulam Muhammad Sukháni, the prince left Bakhar for Multán and thence to the Deráhs* to settle the affair of Sháh Muhammad, son of Ghází Khán. In the fighting that ensued with that chief, Mir Shahdád Tálpur Balóch who had been sent by the prince in

* *I. e.* Deráh Ghází Khán and Deráh Ismáil Khán.

command, distinguished himself greatly for his bravery and skill, as he settled the whole affair to the entire satisfaction of the prince, who raised his position and conferred more favours upon him. The land of Pat Bárán was given as a jágír to the Mír.

The Pínis and Dáúdpótahs revolt but are punished.

After these events Mián Yár Muhammad's two sons Núr Muhammad and Muhammad Khán, who had been so long in Kalát, came to Khudábád. Siwí was first left in charge of Mír Muhammad, Yár Muhammad's brother, and then in that of Muhammad Dáúd Khán. During their time, Rahím Khán Pránk and Daolat Khán Pínì raised the standard of revolt, but they were promptly punished.

For a short time, the Dáúdpótahs also fought with the Siráís for supremacy, but they were so much crushed that they completely gave in and thenceforth permanently remained subordinate to them.

Mián Yár Muhammad gets Jhól, Rópáh and other places.

All the above events took place during the first 9 years of Mián Yár Muhammad's rule. The next 9 years were spent in peace and enjoyment, except for the war with Jhók* in which too the Mián was successful. And for these services, part of Jhól and several villages in Shamáwátí and Cháchikán were ceded to him as a jágír. After Nawáb Shákir Khán's departure the Mián also got the parganah of Rópáh on a farming contract.†

In short, after a successful rule of 18 years, Mián Yár Muhammad died on Monday or Tuesday the 15th of Zíkaad 1131 A.H. (1718 A.D.).

---

* A description of the battle of Jhók is given in the last chapter of Part I (see No. 34).

† Nawáb Shákir Khán came to Sind as Emperor's agent in 1123 A.H. (1711 A.D.). See No. 35 in the last chapter of Part I.

CHAPTER IV.

The rule of Mia'n Nu'r Muhammad in Sind.

Mián Núr Muhammad succeeded his father with the title of "Khudáyár Khán." For the first three years his younger brother Dáúd Khán would not submit to him and tried to oppose him, but ultimately yielded and paid allegiance to him.

Mián Núr Muhammad or Nawáb Khudáyár Khán.

In the 4th year of his rule, *i.e.* 1135 (1722 A.D.) the Dáúdpótahs revolted and took certain aggressive measures. They fought with Mullá Jiand Abrah, who was the Mián's agent in charge of certain villages in the parganah of Jatói of the tálukah of Bakhar. They further trespassed on the parganahs of Shikárpur, Khánpur and other villages, that formed the jágír of Mír Abdulwasía Khán and would not give any explanation to the said Khán. Mián Núr Muhammad therefore, sent Thariah, one of his confidential men, to the Emperor* requesting that under the circumstances the jágír might be conferred on him in his own name, and at the same time marched against the Dáúdpótahs. After some hard fought battles he besieged them in the fort of Shikárpur and compelled them to submit. At last that division of the country was divided into four parts or shares, two shares being given to the original owner of the jágír, one to the Dáúdpótahs and one being retained by the Mián himself, who after taking some hostages, returned to his capital.

He fights with the Dáúdpótahs.

The Dáúdpótahs did not long remain quiet. Again and again they gave trouble, but were as often defeated and dispersed, till in 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.) Mián Núr Muhammad Khudáyár Khán fixed his residence at Shi-

* Muizzuddín was succeeded by his nephew Farrukh Siyar, who was killed and succeeded by his cousin Rafíuddaraját in 1131 A.H. (1718 A.D.). On the death of this prince within a few months, he was succeeded by his brother Rafíuddaúlah Sháh Jahán who also died within a few months and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Sháh, who was the Emperor at this time, *viz.*, in 1135 A.H.

kárpur and sent his army to extirpate them finally. The army pressed them hard in the fort of Dahí ,but through the intercession of some Sayyeds they were pardoned and swore solemnly never to revolt again.

The Dáúdpótahs completely subjugated.

The result of all this was that the land of Naháŕs, that had lately fallen into the hands of the Dáúdpótahs, came back into the owner's possession, and the Dáúdpótahs were scattered in confusion over certain pargaŕahs of Multán, *e. g.* Pahlí, the territory of Imámuddín Jóyah and Faríd Khán Lakhwírah, Náin, Baháwalpur, the territory of Hánas Sammah, Patan of Bábá Faríd and the country near the settlements of the Afgháns. Within two years, however, they were reduced to straitened circumstances and were obliged to seek service under the Mián who gave them suitable pensions and places in the tálukah of Bakhar, which had only recently come into the hands of the Siráís.

Similarly Shekh Hamíd and Shekh Usmán Rónkahs, noteworthy zamíndáŕs of the suburbs of Multán, emigrated to Bakhar and entered the service of the Mián.

Certain chiefs of the country near Siwí brought into subjection.

In the year 1142 A.H. (1729 A.D.) Murád Kaleŕí, known as Ganjah, was appointed as an agent in charge of Siwí, and brought into subjection powerful chiefs like Kaisar Khán Magsí, the zamíndáŕ of Ganjábah,* Míró Kódrí Rind, the chief of Shóran, descendants of Guhrám Láshárí, the chief of Siwí, Míró Buldí, the chief of Kachhí, Mahyán Eŕí and Lahná Máchhí, big land owners of Bhág Náŕí, Kálá Khán and other chiefs of the tribe of Bázóí, the owners of Dhádar and other Balóch zamíndáŕs of Kóhistán, and Bahár Khán Amrání the chief of Kanganí.

Hostilities with Mír Abdulláh the Khán of Kalát.

Mián Núr Muhammad now commenced hostilities with the Khán of Kalát, who was a Bróhí and who proudly called himself "the royal Eagle of Kóhistán" In 1143 A.H. (1730 A.D.) he marched and took the fort of

* Ganjábah is now called Gandáwáh.

Kartah from Mubárak Khán, after a severe blockade and fight, in which Ismáíl Khán Bróhí was defeated and Kákar Bróhí was killed. After these events Mír Abdulláh Khán, the Khán of Kalát thought it expedient to conclude peace with the Mián, which was ratified by his giving two daughters in marriage to the two sons of Mián.

Unfortunately, in 1144 A.H. (1731 A.D.) a force of Bróhís, in open contravention of the terms of the peace, invaded the land of Káchlagh and plundered that part of the country. To punish them for this, Mián Núr Muhammad himself marched out and encamped at Ládkánah. From there he despatched some brave chiefs to fight with Mír Abdulláh Khán. At Jandehar, where Mír Abdulláh Khán had arrived in advance, a pitched battle was fought which ended in the complete overthrow of the Bróhís and the death of their ruler.

Marriage connections between the Kalhórah and Bróhí chiefs.

In 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.) the Mián's son Muhammad Murádyáb Khán went to Khiár and Wankár with a few selected chiefs and celebrated his marriage with a daughter of Murádalí Khán, a cousin of Mír Abdulláh Khán; and in the next year his other son Khudádád Khán also married a daughter of a kinsman of his. Thus the connection between the Siráís and the Bróhís became stronger and closer by these marriages.

Siwistán and Tattá secured by Mián Núr Muhammad.

Then arose the rumours of Nádir Sháh's coming, and Mián Núr Muhammad began to send envoys to him to prepare the way for their friendship. In 1149 A.H. (1736 A.D.) the division of Bakhar was completely secured by the Siráís, Siwistán or Sehwán having already been brought into their possession. Next year 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) Tattá was obtained from the Emperor of Dehlí, and Shekh Ghulám Muhammad was deputed to have charge of it.*

---

* It was this personage who relieved Nawáb Sádikalí Khán at Tattá (see No. 41 in the last chapter of Part I.)

That same year, Nadir Sháh * having conquered Kandhár determined to pass through Sind on his way to Hind, and intimated the same to the ruler of Sind. Accordingly Mián Núr Muhammad went to Ládkánah in order to keep a firm possession of that division, and sent his son Muhammad Murádyáb to Tattá, where he arrived at the close of Zíkaad of 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.). Ráná Ajmal, the ruler of Dhárájah and the Jám of Kakrálah rose to oppose him. They brought down ships from the sea to the river and commenced war both by land and by water. The ships came as far as Khát and from there up to Nasarpur. They commenced fighting and plundering on both the sides of the river. But as the guns were soon placed along the banks and fired by the Siráís, the enemy were driven back and pursued till they were compelled to submit.

The Mián's son Muhammad Murádyáb defeats the invading armies of Dhárájah and Kakrálah at Tattá.

Soon after this, Nádir's approach spread confusion throughout the country. In the beginning of Shawwál of 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.) Muhammad Murádyáb Khán left Tattá and joined his father, who fled to Umarkót for shelter, having sent away his heavy baggage to Talhár. Early one morning, before Mián Núr Muhammad left the fort, as he had determined to do, all of a sudden, Nádir Sháh appeared at the gate. The Mián had no alternative but to surrender, having tied his own hands like an offender. The king carried him with his camp and came to Ládkánah.

Nádir Sháh's invasion and Mián Nur Muhammad's flight to Umarkót where he is taken prisoner.

Accepting a gratification of one million of rupees Nádir returned from there to Tattá. He confirmed the Mián in his own country, with the title of "Sháh Kulí Khán" and departed with the Mián's two sons Muhammad Murádyáb and Ghulám Sháh as hostages. At the same time he left Siwí in the hands of the Afgháns and Shikárpur in those of the Dáúdpotahs as used to be the case some years back.

Mián Núr Muhammad confirmed as a ruler by Nádir with the title of Sháh Kulí Khán.

* It was in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) that Nádir Sháh conquered Hind, during the reign of Emperor Muhámmad Sháh and soon went to Persia. Muhammad Shah continued to reign for 10 years after that.

Nádir's envoys at Tattá. Sultán Sámtiah appointed as the Mián's agent at the place.

On the 11th of Muharram 1153 A.H. (1740 A. D.) Nádir Sháh left Ládkánah, and about the close of Zikaad, his generals Sálih Khán Bayát and Sháhwerdikhán Karat, who with some other officers at the head of several columns had spread themselves from Umarkót over the whole of Sind, came to Tattá, having brought with them, Shekh Shukrulláh and Masti Khán Jóyah from the town of Agham, about 3 kos from Tattá. From Tattá they proceeded with the above prisoners under Nádir's orders to join his camp. At the same time, a number of noblemen and chiefs of the city accompanied A'ká Muhammad Karím Isfahání to pay respects to the king. The king received them kindly and sent them back with suitable presents and appointments. A'ká Muhammad Karím was appointed as an envoy for the people of the place, and Sultán Sámtiah was posted as agent or administrator of Tattá, on behalf of Mián Núr Muhammad, Shah Kulí Khán.

Chiefs of Shórah and other tribes defeated and punished by the Mián.

In 1154 A.H. (1741 A.D.) the tribe of Shórah, who during the period of anarchy consequent on Nádir's arrival, had shaken off the Mián's yoke, began to assemble at Kand, Manání Aresar and Khír in the tálukah of Chákar Hálah, under the command of Húnd son of Shórah, and to display great audacity. Mián Núr Muhammad marched against them and without much trouble completely extirpated them. He next punished Tamáchí, Tógháchí, Tharú, Silah, Káhah and A'sú Súmrah, the chiefs of parganah Wangah in the tálukah of Cháchikán, as they would not pay the fixed tribute.

In 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.) Muzaffar Alí Khán Bayát, Beglarbegí, who had gone to bring some ships that had been ordered by Nadír Sháh to be built for him at the port of Súrat, came to Tattá from Karáchi port, Nawáb Sháh Kulí Khán (Mián Núr Muhammad) came to receive him at Tattá, where they spent about two months and a half together, after which period Muzaffar Alí took his departure.

Fresh anarchy in Sind in consequence of Tahmásb Kulí Khán's coming.

In 1156 A.H. Tahmásb Kulí Khán, the chief of Jaláir had been sent by Nádir Sháh to punish the Dáúdpótáhs. Mián Núr Muhammad thought it expedient to

remain quiet and not take any part in the affair. Consequently anarchy broke out anew in Sind, during which Sultán Sámtiah, the administrator of Tattá and Shekh Shukrulláh were called away by the Mián and the charge of the place given to Razábeg the king's envoy and another noble by name Fázilbeg. These two thought it proper to conclude a treaty of peace with the Ráná of Dhárájah and Sájan Ramah, the Hindú chiefs of neighbouring states. But when subsequently the Mián received Tahmásb Kulí Khán, who departed with the Mián's third son Atur Khán as a hostage, Sultán Sámtiah and Shekh Shukrulláh were again sent to take up the administration of Tattá.

Fighting with certain Hindú chiefs.

In 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.) Shekh Shukrulláh defeated Jám Hothí, the chief of Kakrálah and killed him, and placed Jám Máhar in his place. The next year the Mían himself proceeded to attack the fort of Kánjí, and took it. As the Hindús of Kachhí had, after the conquest of Kánji, come to Badín and other neighbouring places, the Mián determined to punish them. In 1158 A.H. Bahár Sháh and other Fakírs, who had been deputed for the purpose, completely overpowered them. Sultán Sámtiah, being now dead, was buried on the Maklí hill and his place given to his son Masú Fakír.

Fighting with the Ráná of Dhárájah who is killed treacherously.

In 1160 A.H. (1747 A.D.) at the instigation of the Ráná of Dhárájah some hundreds of hill tribes invaded the town of Tattá. Masú Fakír, Shekh Shukrulláh and Búlah Khán Naomardiah Jakhrah,* advanced to meet them. As the hill people had been sacrilegious enough to pass through graveyards without respect for the tombs or the spirits of the dead, they were completely routed on the third day, though on the other side there were comparatively few persons. Getting this news, the Mián's son Muhammad Khudádád Khán came to Tattá with a large army. Masú Fakír was removed from the charge of Tattá and Bilawal Fakír Náij was appointed in his place, who immediately marched against the Ráná's fort. The Ráná betook himself across the river and left the place to some of his men to defend. But they could not stand against such an overwhelming force. The fort fell

* Thano Búlákhan is still called after him.

into the hands of the Mián's son, who returned victorious to his father. Shortly after this Shekh Shukrulláh caused the Ráná to be killed by Bijár Jókhiah, who treacherously secured his presence to discuss terms of peace.

The Mián receives the title of Sháhnawáz Khán and his sons return from Persia.

In 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) Ahmad Sháh Dúráni, who settled the boundaries of Nádir Sháh's share of the country with the Emperor of Dehlí, and secured it for himself,* confirmed Mián Núr Muhammad as the ruler of Sind, giving him the new title of "Sháhnawáz Khán." In the next year, the Mián's sons Ghulám Sháh and Atur Khán, who had been taken away as hostages, returned from Persia. In 1163 A.H. (1750, A.D.) Gul Muhammad Khurásání became the Miáns agent at Tatá. In the same year news was received of the Miáns third son Murádyáb Khán's arrival at Muscat and the death of Shekh Ghulám Muhammad, who had been in his company. Accordingly Shukrulláh Khán was ordered to proceed immediately to bring the young nobleman home.

In 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.) ships left for the port of Muscat, but Shekh Shukrulláh died soon after. In due course of time Muhammad Murádyáb Khán arrived and was received with great affection by his father, who entrusted him with the entire management of the financial business of the state, and appointed Khudábád to be his head quarters. Sháhnawáz Khán, who used to be at Khudábád, came to reside at the new built town of Muhammadábád. Khudádád Khán, who during the absence of his elder brother, had put on the turban of an heir-apparent, had now to resign that honourable position to the rightful owner Murádyáb Khán. Being much chagrined and mortified at this, he left his native land and went to Hindustán. But Muhammad Murádyáb Khán soon proved a failure as a financial manager and so that office was taken back from him.

The king comes to Sind and Diwán Gidúmal is sent as an envoy to him.

In the beginning of 1166 A.H. (1753 A.D.) it was rumoured that Sardár Jahán Khán was coming to Sind. And about the close of the year a different rumour

* Muhammad Sháh died in 1161 A.H. and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Sháh. On the death of Nádir Sháh, Ahmad Sháh Dúráni, who had become his successor, obtained superiority over the Emperor of Dehlí.

was circulated to the effect that the king himself was coming in order to pass on to Hindustán.* On the 4th of Muharram 1168 A.H. (1755 A.D.) information was received that the king had moved from Muhammadábád to the sand-hills. Diwán Gidúmal was therefore sent in a hurry as an envoy to meet him at his camp and assure him of the Mián's loyalty and faithfulness, and if possible to induce him to turn back without marching further by the route. The Diwán met the king's camp at the bridge of Sakhar.† As the king was angry and out of humour, the Diwán could not get an audience for 3 days. At last the king encamped at Naosbahrah. Here Diwán Gidúmal was fortunate enough to secure the king's audience and to conciliate him.‡

Death of Mián Núr Muhammad and the election of his son Murádyáb Khán.

It was about this time, on the 12th of Saffar of the same year 1168 A.H. (1755 A.D.) that the ruler of Sind Mián Núr Muhammad died of quinsy or the inflammation of the throat in the vicinity of Jesalmer.§

The nobles of the state lost no time in electing the late ruler's eldest son Muhammad Murádyáb Khán to the throne. That young nobleman, fearing lest he might be again given away as a hostage, had left his father on the way and betaken himself in a different direction, from which he had to be brought to fill the vacant throne. This ceremony of enthronement took place on 16th, *i. e.* 4 days after the late Mián's death.

---

* In 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.) on the death of Ahmad Sháh the Emperor of Dehli, he was succeeded by his son Aazzuddin Alamgir II, but in his time anarchy set in and the minor rulers threw off his yoke. His son Wálágóhar went to Bengal trying to obtain some firm footing there. The Afghán princes chiefly took possession of different parts of Hind, as Ahmad Sháh Dúráni was an Afghán himself. Henceforth therefore the sovereign of Dehli was called a king and not an Emperor.

† It must have been a temporary bridge of boats.

‡ Diwán Gidumal is mentioned here for the first time. Gidú-jo-Tando and Gidwáni street of Hyderabad are called after him. A genealogical tree of his descendents is given in appendix II.

§ The author of the Fatehnámah, in giving the character of Mián Núr Muhammad, says that he was a man of pure faith and piety; that he paid great respect to the descendants of the Prophet; that he carried on state affairs with the consultation of Mír Bahrám Tálpur who was his chief minister, and that he was very popular with the people, high and low.

CHAPTER V.

The rule of Mia'n Muhammad Mura'dya'b Kha'n.

Different agents appointed by the king's orders.

On receiving the news of Mián Núr Muhammad's death, the king, who had again been influenced by the slanders of some malicious people of his court, named Ismáíl Khán Pirí to be his agent in Sind, and the latter had already proceeded as far as Muhammadábád, and had sent off a few men under Sayyed Sháh Muhammad to Tattá, and others towards the sandy desert, where they pillaged the villages of Thár and Hingórjah. Soon after the arrival of Ismáíl Khán's men, one Sálih Khán came to Tattá on behalf of the late administrator Gul Muhammad Khán Khurásání to collect the revenue demands. But just before that the king's ambassador Muhammad Beg Sháwalí had come to Tattá and appointed A'ká Muhammad Sálih as the agent in charge of Tattá and taking some nobles of the place had started for the royal camp. Sálih Khán's men would not allow A'ká Muhammad Sálih to carry on the State duties. When Muhammad Beg Shámlú, who on receiving orders to that effect had sent back the nobles, arrived at the camp, he was blamed for not making a good selection for the collection of revenue at Tattá. A fresh order was therefore issued appointing Kází Muhammad Mahfúz to the post. Again the nobles were required to pay respects to the king at his camp.

Muhammad Murádyáb Khán appointed to be the ruler with the title of Nawáb Sarbuland Khan.

While the Kází's eldest son was quarrelling with Sálih Khán as to who should collect the revenue and other Government dues, information was received that the king had appointed Muhammad Murádyáb Khán to be the ruler of Sind with the title of "Nawáb Sarbuland Khán." It would appear that all this time the late Mián's envoy Díwán Gidúmal had been at work in the court of the king and had now succeeded in securing the king's good will, as the chiefs and nobles had paid allegiance to the king and Muhammad Atur Khán had been given up as a hostage. So the nobles went direct to Umarkót to meet their new ruler, who on receiving the honour now marched to his capital. Shekh

Zafarulláh was appointed to be the administrator of Tattá and once more there was peace and order at that place.

The reception of the Mián at Nasarpúr.

Díwán Gidúmal had joined Muhammad Murádyáh Kháu in the vicinity of Umarkót and had given him the order of rulership and the robe of honour, which he had brought from the king. The plain near Nasarpúr was adorned with tents and flags to be the first camp of the new ruler on his return to his country. The Mián encamped at the place and spent several days there, founding a new town at the place, calling it Murádábád after his name.

The Mián marches against the Jám of Kakrálah and defeats him.

About the close of the year he determined to settle the affair of the Jám of Kakrálah. He marched against him and defeated him after several battles. The Jám was removed from Kódáriah and confined at Kakrálah, his head-quarters. The land of O'chtah, Lanjárí, Mirán and Kachah was taken into his own possession by the Mián, who fixed upon the last named place to be the chief centre of stores, and strengthened each of the above places with a fort.

The Mián's rupture with his nobles, who conspire against him.

For the next two years the Mián ruled the country quietly and satisfactorily, but in the fourth year of his reign, symptoms of misrule and confusion began to appear, as he altogether changed his behaviour and commenced ill-treating the Siraí chiefs and oppressing his subjects. Having been much annoyed and hard pressed owing to the pecuniary demands of the king, Miáu Muhammad Múrad determined to retire after sweeping his country clean of whatever he could lay his hands upon. With that object in view he had already commenced sending up his treasures to the port of Mascat. About the close of the year he thought of starting from his capital and while passing through the territory of the Jám of Kakrálah, of laying waste to it and plundering it. He therefore proposed to send a large army to that State. The Siraí chiefs, who on the occasion of the last treaty, had sworn on the Korán not to make any breach of the terms, opposed him, and refused to join him in the under-

taking. They withdrew, and combining together promised to espouse the cause of Mián Ghulám Sháh and to put him on the throne.

Muhammad Murád dethroned and Mián Ghulám Sháh elected.

Mustering strong among themselves on the night preceding 13th Zí-Hajj, 1170 A. H. (1757 A. D.) the Siráí nobles beseiged the Mián's residence and took him and his favourite chiefs prisoners. The next morning his brother Mián Ghulám Sháh was placed on the throne. He tried his best to please the nobility as well as the common people, who had been much oppressed by Muhammad Murád.*

The town of Alahábád founded, and the revolt of Muhammad Murád's brother Ahmadyár Khán.

Soon after the A'shúrah (the 10th of Muharram) of the new year, that accursed town was surrounded by the floods of the river, so that Mián Ghulám Sháh deserted it and built another city near his father's Muhammadábád and called it Alahábád. All the chiefs and nobles recognized him as their ruler and paid homage to him, except Ahmadyár Khán, brother by the same mother to Muhammad Murádyáb, who was then at Khudábád, and Maksúdah Fakír, son of Bahár Sháh, who at first left his father's side with the intention of adhering to Mián Ghulám Sháh's cause, and subsequently came and entered the Mián's service, apparently to avoid unpleasant results.

The Mián's other brother Atur Khán appointed as ruler by the royal decree.

Meanwhile Atur Khán, who was a hostage with the king, represented his case in person very strongly and succeeded in having the order of rulership passed in his own name. Hearing this, Ahmadyár Khán began to collect forces. The Siraí chiefs now repented of what they had done and knowing that Atur Khán had been duly appointed as a ruler by royal decree, thought it prudent to submit to him. Mián Ghulám Sháh therefore

---

* The author of the Fatehnámah speaking about Muhammad Murád's character, says that he was neither brave nor experienced in manly exercise, that night and day, he was engaged in pleasure parties and in enjoying the company of dancing girls and singers, that his officers also followed suit, and that Mír Bahrám became offended and in conspiracy with the other nobles, dethroned him.

had no other alternative but to move with his whole army to the sandy desert on 25th of Saffar of the same year. After he had travelled a few stages, Maksúdah Fakír having received letters from Atur Khán to that effect, set Muhammad Murádyáb at liberty, and deserting Mián Ghulám Sháh's cause, and taking some Siraí chiefs with him started to meet the newly appointed ruler, while Mián Ghulám Sháh with Rájah Líkhí, a few other friendly chiefs and a selected band of soldiers hastened away to a distance.

CHAPTER VI.

The rule of Mia'n Muhammad Atur Kha'n.

General feelings against Muhammad Atur Khán.

Finding the country vacant, Muhammad Atur Khán had no difficulty in entering it. Ahmad Yár Khán considered it expedient to move towards Naoshahrah and fix his residence there. In the beginning of Rabíussání, Muhammad Murádyáb also arrived to join his brother. In fact he and the Siraí chiefs entertained hopes that Atur Khán had taken all that trouble and secured the rulership for him, being his elder brother. But Atur Khán was too ambitious for that. Without even meeting his brother, he ordered him to be taken and settled at Khudábád. Although this conduct of his, increased bad feelings in the minds of the nobility towards him, still since he had been appointed by the royal decree, they could only submit to him ostensibly. The officers began to hate him; the revenue began to fail; the king's demands for tribute and other government dues began to increase. All these things combined to make the new ruler disgusted with the country, whilst the people, being much oppressed by him, began to curse him and wish for his dethronement.

Mián Ghulám Sháh marches against Atur Khán and defeats him at Lóhrí.

Meanwhile Mián Ghulám Sháh passing some time in the State of Udhepúr, returned to Bahá-walpur, where he spent 3 months. Being encouraged by the state of things in Sind, he left his son Muhammad Sarafráz Khán

with his baggage and dependents at Baháwalpur and himself started for Sind, about the middle of Ramazán. Muhammad Atur Khán hearing of his approach proceeded to meet his adversary. On the last day of Ramazán, he arrived at Lóhrí* and fixed his camp on the bank of Umarkas, just outside the town. Here Mián Ghulám Sháh came with his selected band to measure arms with him. After some fighting at a distance with guns and arrows, he crossed the water and came to close quarters with the enemy. A hard fight took place which ended in the defeat of the ruler of Sind. Atur Khán, Ahmad Yár Khán and Maksúdah were put to flight disgracefully, and the whole army with all its baggage came into the possession of Mián Ghulám Sháh. That day and the next, which was the Ramazán I'd, or holiday, he celebrated his victory, and then taking the Siráí chiefs with him, he came from Lóhrí to Siwistán or Sehwán.†

Mián Ghulám Sháh comes to Siwistán and thence to Alahábad and Muhammadábád.

As during this short period Muhammad Murádyáb Khán had died, Mián Ghulám Sháh tried his best to conciliate the minds of that deceased ex-ruler's followers. About the close of Shawwál 1171 A. H. (1758 A. D.) he returned to Alahábád, where he was met by his son and his other party. After spending a few days there, he moved to Muhammadábád, where he remained up to the end of the year.

Atar Khán goes to Kalát; subsequently joins the King's camp and returns with an imperial army in succour.

In the beginning of the next year 1172 A. H. (1759 A.D.) difficulties again arose making matters complicated. Muhammad Atur Khán and Ahmadyár Khán in their flight after the above defeat went straight to Kalát, where the ruler of the place, Muhammad Nasír Khán‡ on the strength of the friendship he bore to Mían Ghulám Sháh, retained them with him till the King's army arrived in that country to punish him and defeated him. The two brothers then joined

---

* Róhrí.

† Properly speaking Mián Ghulám Sháh's rule in Sind commences from this date, although he was confirmed as the ruler by royal decree later on, in 1175 A.H. (See the next chapter.)

‡ Who had succeeded Mír Abdulláh Khán.

the royal army on their return to the camp. There they employed means to re-secure the rulership of Sind,* and eventually succeeded. Ahmadyár Khán remained in the king's camp, while Atur Khán was sent back with an army commanded by Átái Khán to reinstate him on the throne of Sind.*

The town of Sháhbandar, founded by Mían Ghulám-Sháh.

Getting this news, in the month of Rabiussaní 1172 A. H. (1759 A. D.) Mían Ghulám Sháh moved to Kujah, a deserted town. He ordered all the residents of the part of Orangá to remove to Kujah, which once more became a populous town and which he named Sháhgarh. He appointed it as his head-quarters, and in its vicinity he founded a new fort, calling it Sháhbandar. He built a castle and collected all materials of war there. He then left that place together with the State prisoners he had with him in charge of his son Muhammad Sarafráz Khán and himself advanced to meet his brothers.

Peace concluded between Mían Ghulám Sháh and Atur Khán and the country divided between them.

Muhammad Atur Khán was already advancing with his Afghán forces † laying waste the country on his way, Maksúdh being the leader of the advance party. At Cháchikán the two armies met. For some time indecisive fighting went on, but eventually Atur Khán losing all hope of success, sought for peace, which was concluded. The country of Sind was divided into three shares. The share extending from Sháhgarh to the limits of Nasarpúr and Tattá, fell to the lot of Mían Ghulám Sháh, and Tattá with the remaining portion of Sind was given to the two brothers, as their two shares. Accordingly Mían Ghulám Sháh went to Sháhgrah and Atur Khán left for Naoshahrah.

---

* According to the Fatehnamáh, king Ahmad Sháh Durání also wrote to the Daúdpótah to help Atur Khán and a heavy force accompanied him commanded by Bahádur, who had only one ear.

† These were the forces of Ahmad Sháh Durání, commanded by Bahádur, as mentioned in the Fatehnámah. It is said there that the two armies met at Ubáoráh. Mír Bahrám Tálpur was on the side of Mían Ghulám Sháh. At first Ghulám Sháh's men gave way, leaving only 120 men on the field. Just then Mír Bahrám helped in encouraging the routed army. In the fight that ensued, Bahádur was killed and his army fled.

Up to the month of Ramazán matters went on quietly. Then, as it was destined that the whole country should fall into Mián Ghulám Sháh's possession, disagreement broke out between the two brothers, Atur Khán and Ahmadyár Khán. It was represented to the king of Dehlí that Atur Khán was incapable of carrying on the administrative duties of a country. It was therefore arranged that Ahmadyár Khán should leave his son with the king as a hostage and himself go to Sind, with the sanad appointing him the ruler of that country.

Disagreement between Atur Khán and his brother Ahmdyár Khán.

Hearing of this, Mián Ghulám Sháh started for the conquest of Sind in the month of Ramazán 1172 A.H. (1759 A.D.) When Atur Khán learnt that Ghulám Sháh was coming from one side and Ahmadyár Khán from another, he lost heart and fled from Naoshahrah. On the I'd holiday, Mián Ghulám Sháh got this news near Nasarpúr and he immediately advanced to take advantage of the situation. As Ahmadyár Khán was yet far away, the country fell easily into the hands of Mián Ghulám Sháh's men. In the reign of Atur Khán the people of Tattá had suffered a great deal. A party of the tribe of Jókhiah had fallen on the place and in open daylight plundered the quarter of Mulah Talahti. The Afghán forces had further oppressed the people on account of the weakness of the ruler. So they were now very glad to hail a new ruler.

The whole of Sind falls into the hands of Ghulám Sháh, and Atur Khán flees.

On the 2nd of Shawwál of the same year, Mián Ghulám Sháh received a letter from Muhammad Atur Khán stating that he was going to leave the country for good and that he and his brother Ahmadyár Khán might do whatever they liked with it. Being still more encouraged by this news, Mián Ghulám Sháh advanced further and secured the men left behind by Atur Khán to his own side. He came as far as Ládkánah. He put to death all the Khósah chiefs, who had invaded and plundered Khúdábád in the period of anarchy, and posted a permanent force about the place to keep a watch over that tribe and to chastise them whenever necessary. Then coming to Siwistán he took the fort of Jóyah and

Mián Ghulám Sháh comes to Ládkánah and Siwistán and punishes the rebellious Khósahs.

Laknallí, which had served as a rendezvous of the Khósahs, and killing some of the ringleaders of that side and capturing others, he retraced his steps.

Mián Ghulám Sháh defeats Atur Khán at Ubáórah.

Mián Ghulám Sháh now heard that Muhammad Atur Khán and Maksúdh Fakír, being assisted by some Dáúdpótah chiefs, especially Bahádur Khán, were coming prepared for fight. Accordingly he marched with his army to meet them. Coming to Ubáorah, he gave them battle, and completely defeated them, killing Bahádur Khán and another chief named Busásar. Victorious and happy at having made his path clear, he turned back to the centre of his country.

The Jám of Kakrálah is defeated and put to flight.

On 25th Muharram, 1173 A. H. (1760 A. D.) Mián Ghulám Sháh fixed his camp at the new built town of Sháhpur and sent for his son from Sháhgarh. He had already sent Muhammad Káim, as the administrator of Tattá and the latter did his best to relieve the residents of the place from the oppression of the old officers and the tyranny of the Afgháns.

In this year, Jám Desar, the chief of Kakrálah, who during Mián Ghulám Sháh's absence at Sháhgarah, had taken the offensive was defeated and driven away by Muhammad Siddík Wais and other generals, who had been specially sent for the purpose. On 7th Saffar 1174 A.H. (1761 A. D.), the Jám was compelled to leave the fort of Abád and seek shelter in Kachh. His son, Hardárjí, who some time before had come to the camp of Mián Ghulám Sháh, was detained by the Mián as his own aide-de-camp.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RULE OF MIA'N GHULA'M SHA'H.*

Mián Ghulám Sháh appointed ruler of Sind by a royal decree, with the title of 'Sháh Wardí Khán.'

In the beginning of the next year 1175 A.H. (1762 A.D.) a royal *sanad* was received confirming Mian Ghulám Sháh as the ruler of Sind, giving him the title of "Sháh Wardí Khán," and bringing an elephant, a robe of honour and some other presents. In the same year the Mián again marched as far as Khánpúr in order to punish the Daúdpotahs, but at the intercession of the Sayyeds of Uch he pardoned them and returned without going further.

Mián Ghulám Sháh invades Kachh and makes peace with the Ráo.

In 1176 A.H. (1763 A.D.), on the 9th of Rabíussání the Mián marched towards Kachh in order to punish the Hindús of that place. He took the fort of Sindrí on his way, and on the heights of Járaht mountain killed about 6000 men of the Kachhí's. Continuing his victorious march he came to within 12 koss of Bhuj, plundering the villages and towns in the vicinity of that city. He took the sea-ports of Busta and Lakhpat. At length at the entreaties of the Ráo of Kachh and on his suing for peace the Mián marched back, arriving at Sháhpúr on the 2nd of Rajjib 1177 A.H. (1764 A.D.).

Another invasion against Kachh and fresh treaty with it.

In 1178 A.H. (1765 A.D.) Mián Ghulám Sháh again invaded Kachh and took the fortified town of Mórú on his way. Coming to within 10 miles of Kachh, he made a halt. The Ráo of Kachh again applied for peace and a fresh treaty was concluded. Returning from Kachh he went to the old Sháhpúr instead of the new, which town he found uncomfortable on account of the excessive wind and dust.‡ About this time the king conferred a

---

* Properly speaking Mián Ghulám Sháh's reign commenced earlier in 1171 when he defeated Atur Khán.

It may be noted here that Mián Ghulám Shah was the son of Mián Núr Muhammad by a dancing girl. It is said Nur Muhammad got that son through the blessings of his contemporary saint Shah Abdul Latif Bhitái.

† Jhana in the Sind Gazetteer.

‡ See extract (36) in Appendix I.

fresh title of "Samsámuddaolah*" on Mián Ghulám Sháh, in addition to the former one, in consideration of his brave deeds and successful management of State affairs.

Atur Khán surrenders.

Not long after this, Muhammad Atur Khán, whose companions like Maksúdah, had died and left him alone, repented and surrendered to Mián Ghulám Sháh, who showed him great kindness and kept him in his company.

Mián Ghulám Sháh entrusted with the administration of the Derahs.

In 1181 A.H. (1767 A.D.) Mián Ghulám Sháh was entrusted by the king with the charge of the Derahs † whence some disturbance was reported. Accordingly in the beginning of Rabíussání, the Mián started for that division. In the course of three months he settled all matters and restored peace and order there. Taking some hostages from the chiefs of the place, he returned to Sháhpúr.

Unfortunately during this interval, the force left by the Mián at the Derahs had to fight with the natives of the place headed by their chief Nasrat. This confusion induced the king to send Sardar Jahán Khán as his agent to settle and administer the State affairs there. The Sardár came, dismissed the Mián's officers and appointed his own in their place. In 1183 A.H. (1769 A.D.) however, Derah Gházi Khán was lost to the Sardár, and Mián Ghulám Sháh had again to go in that direction to settle the country. He succeeded in quieting the country once more. And as a reward for this remarkable piece of the service, the remaining portion of Derah Gházi Khán, that used to be attached to Multán, was given to the Mián and its governor made subordinate to him.

The city and fort of Haidarábád, founded by Mián Ghulám Sháh.

On his return from the Derahs in Zíhajj, 1183 A.H. Mián Ghulám Sháh went straight to Nerúnkót, where in Zíkaad of the previous year, 1182 A.H. (1768 A.D.), he had commenced a strong fort with the view of turning that city into his future capital. This fort, which was built on hilly high ground was named Haidarabád. And there the Mián remained for the rest of his life.

---

* The title literally means "the sword of the State," a very appropriate title for the Mián.

† Derah Ghazi Khán and Derah Ismáil Khán.

The administrators of Tattá.

After Gul Muhammad Khán Khurásáni and Muhammad Káim no other administrator was appointed at Tattá. In the Muharram of 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.), however, Habíb Fakir Náij was put in charge of the place. Habíb was succeeded by Muhammad Husain, but he soon returned and resumed the same charge. After Habíb was removed Murád Fakír Nizamání was made the administrator of Tattá and continued as such up to 1188 A.H. (1774 A.D.).

Matrimonial connection between the Mián and the Ráo of Kachh.

In 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.) for several reasons the charge of the Derahs was taken from Mián Ghulám Sháh by the king and given back to Sardár Jahán Khán. In this year the Ráo of Kachh gave the hand of a daughter of his cousin Wesúji in marriage to the Mián and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour on both the sides. In consideration of this relationship, the towns of Bustá Bandar and Lakhpt Bandar and others that had been conquered by the Mián, were returned to the Ráo.

The rain of flesh, a strange phenomenon.

It was in the year 1185 A.H. (1771 A.D.) that a wonderful physical phenomenon was seen in Sind. In about a *bígah* of land, near Dhand Chatti, pieces of flesh fell in rain. Each piece was more in weight than a seer of Súrat. A few pieces were brought to the Mián. The flesh resembled the flesh of a pig, both in smell and colour. It was thrown to dogs, but they would not eat it.

The death of Mián Ghulám Sháh.

In 1186 A.H. (1772 A.D.) foundation was laid for a mud fort on a hillock to the south-west of the fort of Haidarabád and for the protection of the same. The hillock was sacred to Hají Muhammad Makaí * and was called after his name. His remains had been buried there and round his tomb a spacious grave-yard had been formed. As a large number of tombs had to be razed to the ground to lay the foundation of the fort, it proved to be a bad

* This fort still exists. An annual fáir is held at the tomb of this saint on the 9th of Zulhajj.

omen on account of the disrespect that was shown to the dead, especially to the saint. Unfortunately, soon after the fort was built, Miáu Ghulám Sháh died all of a sudden on the 2nd of Jamádil-awwal of the same year, having been attacked by paralysis on the previous day only.*

Death of Ahmad Sháh Durání and accession of his son Taimúr Sháh to the throne.

About this time Ahmad Sháh Durání died and with the assistance of his prime minister Sháh Walí Khán his younger son Sulaimán Sháh succeeded him to the throne. His elder son Taimúr Sháh, who was at Khurásán at the time of his father's death, hastened to the capital, killed Sháh Walí Khán, removed his younger brother from the throne, and occupied it himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

The rule of Mia'n Muhammad Sarafra'z Kha'n.

Muhammad Sarafráz Khán confirmed by the new king with the title of "Khudáyár Khán."

The next day after Miáu Ghulám Sháh's death his son Miáu Muhammad Sarafráz Khán was placed on the throne of Sind with the unanimous consent of the nobility of the Fakírs, or followers of the late Miáu. Taimúr Sháh, the new king, hastened to send a robe of honour with his *sanad* confirming the new ruler with the title of "Khudáyár Khán" in addition to his father's title. The Derahs were also attached to him. Miáu Muhammad Sarafráz Khan therefore prepared to go in that direction and started about the close of Zulhajj of the same year 1186 A.H. (1772 A.D.) He had to spend some months in settling the affairs of the Derhas, and on the 12th of Rabíussáni, 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.) he returned to Haidarábád.

The Miáu goes to Kachh and Gujerát.

About the close of Shuabán, 1188 A.H., the Miáu set out for Kachh. On the way he took the fort of Bajham. The Ráo of Kachh received the Miáu with distinction and was consequently left in undisputed possession

* The author of the Fatehnámah sings loudly the praises of Miáu Ghulám Sháh. Only, he says, he was not an educated person, but quite illiterate.

of his country. From Kachh the Miáh passed into the limits of Gujrát, where he received homage from the big Járejah chiefs, Náthahji of Gujrát and Dándji of Kaniárá Kót. The Miáh then returned to Parkaran.* In the beginning of Shawwál, he returned to the newly built town of Khúdábad.†

The influence of the Tálpurs at the Courts of Kalhórah rulers.

We have said above in Chapter III that, at the time of Miáh Yár Muhammad's rule Prince Muizzuddín, who had come to Bakhar, had sent Mír Shahdád Khán Tálpur Balóch to fight with Ghází Khán, the chief of the Derahs, and that for the bravery and tact he had shown in settling the affairs of that division, the prince gave him the land of Pat Bárán as a *jágír*. This Mír Shahdád is the first ancestor of the Tálpurs, of whom we read in the history of Sind.‡ Subsequently it appears that the Mír attached himself to the court of Miáh, taking the latter, as a spiritual guide, as well as a chief, as was the fashion in those days. Gradually he became the chief councillor of the ruling chief and acquired a great deal of influence in political affairs. When Miáh Muhammad Murád, became unpopular, it was through Mír Bahrám, the son of Mír Shahdád, that the nobles conspired and dethroned him, in favour of his brother.§

---

* This is perhaps Párkar (*Nagar*).

† Here ends the history of Sind, as given in the Tuhfatulkirám, whose author was living at this time. For the account coming after this, I take up the Fatehnámah, a material history by Azim, written in the reign of Mír Fateh Khán Tálpur.

‡ It may be noted here, that Mír Shahdád Khán Tálpur was the son of Hótak Khán, who was the son of Sulemán Khán, commonly known as Kakó Khán, who again was the son of Sháhó Khán. Hótak Khán had 7 brothers, one of whom was Mánik Khán, who with his son Alahyár Khán became the great-grandfathers of Mánikáni Mírs of Mírpur Khás. While Mír Shahdád's two sons, Mír Chákar Khán and Mír Bahrám Khán became the great-grandfathers respectively of the Khairpurí and Haidrabadí Mírs. Sháhó Khán's uncle was Táló Khán, from whom the dynasty got the name of Tálpur (see the geneological tree of the Tálpurs).

§ Mír Shahdád, son of Hótak's tomb can still be seen near Sháhpúr in the Sakrand Taluka. The village is called Kubá Shahdád. The tomb bears the date of 2nd Rajjib, 1147 A. H. (1734 A. D.). Shahdád's brother Fateh Alí's tomb bears the date of 7th Saffar 1151 A. H. (1738 A.D.)

In 1172 A.H. (1759 A.D.) when Mián Muhammad Atur Khán, the then ruler of Sind, brought the imperial Afghán army to reinstate him, Mír Bahrám was on the side of Mián Ghulám Sháh in the fight that ensued and that ended in the victory of the latter. During Mián Ghulám Sháh's reign, Mír Bahrám enjoyed the high esteem of that ruler. On his death, his successor Mián Muhammad Sarafráz too regarded him as his chief councillor and prime minister. As Mír Bahrám had grown old, his son Mír Bijár often took place in the council-hall, proving himself to be a worthy son of a worthy father.

Mián Muhammád Sarafráz becomes suspicious of Mír Bahrám and his sons, through the jealousy of Rájah Likhí.

As the Mián was very fond of the Mírs, Rájah Likhí, who was also one of the chief courtiers, became jealous of them. Rájah is said to have been an illiterate and foolish person. He was naturally of a bad and mischievous temper. Having formed a resolution to bring about the fall of the Mírs, he began to back-bite them to the Mían, telling him that Mír Bahrám had sent him secret messages repeatedly tempting him to conspire against him (the Mián). He advised the Mián to take necessary precautionary measures before it was too late. Rájah went on slandering the Mír in this strain whenever he got an opportunity to do so. Although the Mián knew him to be a mischievous person and would have been the last person to believe his whispers against a wise counseller and a brave soldier like Mír Bahrám, still, perhaps, it was destined that he should do so. Accordingly the Mián began to show signs of distrust of the Mír, gradually grew cold towards him and finally turned his face from him. Díwán Gidúmal, the old and faithful secretary of the ruling family, interceded and tried to bring about a reconciliation between the Mián and the Mír. "My master" said he "Pay no attention to what these michievous people tell you. Those who fan the fire very closely, run back, when it kindles into a blaze. Do not be rash and hasty, to make an enemy of such a party, or else it will end in a revolt and you will come to grief. If you have any fear of the Mír's doings, be more kind and obliging to him. This will compel him to be a staunch adherent of yours." But as fate would have it, the Mián would not agree with the old Díwan's suggestion.

Perceiving coldness in the behaviour of his master Mír Bahrám determined to plan some decided course for himself. With this object in view, he privately consulted his two sons, Mír Bijár and Mír Sóbdár thus,—"My sons, we are soon to receive our lot at the hands of our master. You know we have sworn on the Korán to be faithful to him and he has sworn to be kind to us. If, now, without any reason he causes some harm to us, we must quietly bear it, leaving him to the punishment of God. My wish now is, that for some time you must leave me to my fate and go somewhere else. This may kill envy and restore good feelings in our master's mind. But if the matter comes to the worst, still you will be safe." Following the hint, the eldest son Mír Bijár set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but the younger son Sóbdár would not leave his old father's side, and notwithstanding his sire's wish that he should look after the safety of himself and his family, Mír Sóbdár determined to stay and abide by the will of God.

Mír Bahrám's consultation with his sons.

One day Mír Bahrám had come to pay his respects to Mían Muhammad Sarafráz, in the usual manner, when some of the chief courtiers were present in his court.* The treacherous Mián gave a letter, that he had received from Mír Bijár at Mascat to the old Mír to read. The latter put on his spectacles, and while he was reading the letter, a servant named Husain, who had been posted behind him with previous instructions, gave a sudden blow with his sword to the Mír from behind, cutting off his head. The Mir died immediately.†

Murder of Mír Bahrám and his son Sóbdár by treachery.

---

* Mír Yár Muhammad Khán, the author of the Frerenámah says that Mír Bahrám and his son Sóbdár came to pay a visit to the Mián. The Mián on this occasion, sent word to them to come in without swords. The father gave his sword to a servant boy of 10 years by name Arzí, but the son not liking to part with the sword, remained outside talking to Alah Baksh, son of Rájh Likhí.

† The author of the Fatehnamáh beautifully plays on the servant's name saying "Look to the sacred name and to the impure person bearing it. How can he be called Husain when he behaved really as Yazíd."

According to the Frerenámah, this event occurred in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D.) The Mír's body was taken away and buried at Khudábád and that of Alah Baksh in front of Mián Ghulám Sháh's tomb.

Taking advantage of the occasion, some persons rushed out with swords to despatch Mír Sóbdár, before the tragical news was known. Mír Sóbdár was at that time conversing with Alah Baksh, the eldest son of Rájah Líkhí. Seeing the swordsmen coming and perceiving foul play, he lost no time in killing Alah Baksh there and then. Then he had to confront his assailants, who surrounded him on all sides. He bravely killed a number of the murderers, but at last fell under the heavy blows of the the assailants. This occurred in the year 1188 A.H.* (1774 A.D.)

Mír Sóbádár died leaving four sons, *viz.*, Fateh Alí Khán, Ghulam Alí Khán, Karam Alí Khán and Murád Alí Khán. They were all young. Mír Fateh Khán upon whom he had looked as a brother, waited for a time, expecting the arrival of Mír Bijár† when he thought that they would lay plans together to revenge themselves on their enemies. But as he did not receive any news of his coming soon, Mír Fateh Khán lost patience. Not being able to bear the pain any more, he collected a number of Balóches and attacked the fort of Khudábád. He killed the keepers quite unawares and entered the fort amidst the consternation of the inmates. Miáu Sarafráz had no other alternative but to secretly leave the fort with 5 or 6 attendants for the river through a jungle, and occupying a fisherman's boat he hastily sailed for the fort of Haidarábád, reaching the latter place, before day-break, that very night. Here there was plenty of treasure and of military stores to enable him to fight, but as fate was against him, he lost heart and left that place too.

Mír Fateh Khán's attack and Miáu Sarafráz's flight from the fort of Haidarábád.

---

* In the Fatehnámah, the year, as calculated by Abjad, is 1185 which cannot be correct because he says clearly that the Miáu's rule did not continue for more than a few months after this event.

† Hótak Khán and Mánik Khán were brothers; Mír Shahdád was the son of the former and Mír Alahyár that of the latter. Again Mír Bahrám was the son of Mír Shahdád and Mír Masú Khán was the son of Mír Alahyár. Mír Sóbdár was the son of Mír Bahrám and Mír Fateh Khán was the son of Mír Masú Khán. Thus Mír Sóbdár and Mír Fateh Khán were distant cousins, each subsequently being the ancestor of a different branch of Tálpurs, *viz.*, of Haidarabadis and Mírpuris (see the geneological tree of Tálpurs.)

Mahmúd Khán placed on the vacant throne and the fort of Haidarábád attacked and taken.

The next day when it was known that Mián Sarafráz had fled, his brother Mahmúd Khán was placed on the vacant seat at Khudábád, and Mehráb, the Chief of the Jatóis given to him as his minister.* Mír Fateh Khán then marched with his forces against the fort of Haidarábád. Seeing the intrepidity of the Mír and fearing the revenge of Mír Bijár, most of the chiefs and nobles, including Rájah Líkhí, and Alahbakhsh Jhinjan, left the side of Mián Sarafráz and joined Mír Fateh Khán in his expedition. They all soon appeared before the gate of the fort and laid siege to it. Within a week the fort was taken and an entry made. The next moment Sarafráz appeared abusing Rájah Líkhí to his face for his faithlessness and mischief and repenting of having got his loyal chiefs, the Mirs, killed. But it was too late now. The keys of the treasures were handed over to Mír Fateh Khán, who refused to keep them as representing the sole master of the place. "Far be it from me" said he, "that I should call myself a ruler. Mír Bijár is our chief, and when he comes he will mete out proper punishment to his enemies. What I have done is not to get treasures but to quench the fire of my heart."

As there was no other alternative, the wily Rájah Líkhí kept the keys with himself and appointed his own son Tájah to be the chief manager of the fort. He now had an ample opportunity to spend money and win over some of the chiefs, in order to be prepared for the fight that might ensue with Mír Bijár, when he came. He secured the services of Alahbakhsh Jhinjan, Peróz Pitáfí and the chief of the tribe of Khósahs, whom he knew to be on bad terms with the Mírs.

Withdrawal of Mír Fateh Khán and the ascension of Mián Ghulám Nabí to the throne.

Mír Fateh Khán now thought it proper to withdraw to his *derah* or head-quarters, that were at a short distance from the city.† Rájah Líkhí not liking the proximity of the Mírs' quarters took Mahmúd Khán with him and went to Kháhah, where in the midst

* This was in 1189 A. H. (1775 A. D.), according to the Freronamáh. The town of Mehrahpur in the Kandiaro Taluka was built by this Mehráh Jatói.

† Their head-quarter city was Shahdádpur.

of waters flowing on all sides, he thought himself safe and able to carry on his nefarious plans. With the consultation of his mercenary counsellers, he determined to give the government of Sind into the hands of some Kalhórah chief, connected on the mother's side with the tribe of Júnejahs, whom he knew to be numerous and on inimical terms with the Balóches. He therefore entering into conspiracy with his comrades, elected Mián Ghulám Nabí, son of Miàn Núr Muhammad (Khudá Yárkhán) and raised him to the throne instead of Mahmúd Khán, as he was related to the Junejahs.*

CHAPTER IX.

The rule of Mia'n Ghula'm Nabi' Kha'n.

Death of Rájah Líkhí.

Mián Ghulám Nabí was a very good man. Like his father he was wise, religious, and generous. His brother Abdunnabí was taken away and confined in a fort. Though Rájah Líkhí had assisted him in coming to the throne and therefore he was obliged apparently to show kindness to him, at heart Mián Ghulám Nabí hated him. He paid no attention to his slander against the Balóches, whom he knew to be a brave and faithful tribe.

About this time news of Mír Bijar's return from Mecca was received and Rájah Líkhí became ill at ease. The approach of a dreaded enemy was a blow to him, which he did not long survive. They say he ended his life by poison. Whatever be the true cause of his death, he had a son, as wicked as himself, to step into his shoes. But Mián Ghulám Nabí entertained as much disgust towards him as for his late father. For, it is said, that the Mián often remarked that he smelt blood from him and that he had the look of a murderer about him.

---

* This was in 119 A.H. (1777) A.D.). It is said in the Sind Gazetteer that "Sarafráz Khán discouraged the English factories at Tattá, which during his father's reign had, in 1758, been established there by the East India Company, and those were eventually withdrawn in 1775."

Mír Bijár's arrival from Meccá through Kalát.

Mír Bijár, who had become a Hájí now, returned from Meccá and at first came to Kalát, where he was received very warmly by Muhammad Nasír, the Khán or ruler of that country.* He expressed so much affection towards him that he exchanged his turban with the Mír showing thereby that they were like brothers and would stand by each other to the very utmost. The Khán ordered that an army be sent with the Mír to help him in taking vengeance over his enemies, but the latter refused to accept the kind offer, saying that he felt ashamed to draw an army against his own country, and that he depended for help upon God. As he approached his native land, he was met in the way by a mourning party of his relations consisting of Mírs Abdulláh,† Fateh Alí, Fateh Khán, Ghulám Alí, Suhráb,‡ Alahyár, Thárah and other Balóch Chiefs. They then wrote letters to the people of Sind in general, complaining of the cruel and cowardly behaviour of Rájah Líkhí and his son Tájah, and appealing to them for sympathy, which the public were not backward in expressing sincerely in return.

Mír Bijár goes to the fort of Umarkót but leaves it soon at the false entreaties of Alahbakhsh Jhinjan.

When Mír Bijár arrived within twelve miles of the capital he prudently made a halt there for some time in order to know the feelings of his countrymen. He was anxious to know which of the chiefs visited him for the sake of welcome or condolence, and which of them showed signs of disaffection. Of course Mían Ghulám Nábí dared not do anything

---

* According to the Frerenámah, Mír Bijár came *viá* Karachi, which was then in the Kalat territory.

† Mírs Sóbdár and Bijár were brothers. The former had four sons, Mír Fateh Alí and three others already noted. Mír Ábdulláh was the son of Mír Bijár.

‡ Mír Suhráb was the son of Mír Chákar Khán, brother to Mir Bahrám. This Mír Chákar was the forefather of the Mírs of Khairpur. Mírs Alahyár and Thárah were brothers, being sons of Mír Fateh Khán, the forefather of the Mírs of Mirpur.

In the Frerenamah the name of Mír Sháh Alí Khán is also mentioned here.

(See the geneological tree of the Talpurs.)

without the sanction of Tájah Líkhí, who prevented him from showing the least favour to his enemy. Alahbakhsh Jhinjan, as well as the Jatói and Pitáfí Chiefs and others made common cause and determined to oppose the Mír, for, they thought any submissive behaviour would only make him tyranical to them. So they addressed a letter with the Mián's seal to Mír Bijár, asking him why he had made such a long stay near head-quarters and telling him that if he intended to fight he might advance, or else leave the place. This letter gave the Mír a clear idea of the feelings of his enemies. While his younger relations prepared to measure arms with their opponents and became loud with indignation, Mír Bijár appeared quite cool and prevented his comrades from taking offensive measures. Without giving any reply to the letter, the very next day he moved to Umarkót with all his dependents and baggage. He occupied the fort driving away the Khósahs, who lost no time in communicating the news to head-quarters. Immediately Tájah Líkhí took Mián Ghulám Nabí with him and marched with an army to Umarkót. Seeing that it was impossible to remove the Mírs from the fort, he hit upon a trick to obtain that end without bloodshed. Alahbakhsh Jhinjan, being appointed leader for the time, went to the Mír and commenced excuses for his past behaviour, speaking ill of the Líkhís. He told him that he was sorry for the letter that had been sent to him and which had been written against the wishes of the Mián and that the Mír must look to the respect and pleasure of their common master and vacate the fort. He swore to the fact that all had determined to punish the Líkhí for his mischief. Mír Bijár was a noble hearted person. He ordered his baggage to be immediately removed from the fort, and himself with his people marched out to a secluded place.

Tájáh Líkhí sends a force to occupy the fort of Umarkot and is attacked by Mír Bijár.

As soon as Mír Bijár believing the deceitful Jhinján's words left the fort, it was occupied by 2000 men sent by Tájah Líkhí, with necessary provisions. Mír Bijár now saw clearly the trick that had been played upon him. He waited for about two months and when he found that his adversaries continued on the defensive, he sent his challenge to Tájah Líkhí, calling him to meet him in the field of battle, without giving

any trouble to the Mián. When Tájah got this message, he called his comrades to the presence of Mián Ghulám Nabí, to arrange a plan for fighting with the Mír. Mián Ghulám Nabí earnestly suggested that peace should be made with the Mír, but they were for fighting The Mián was helpless. He was carried as a puppet at the head of a large army, numbering 30,000 men The moving figure among the chiefs was Tájah Líkhí who was assisted by Alahbaksh Jhinjan, Peróz Pitáfi, Muhammad Hasan Khuháwar and Mihráb Jatói, each at the head of his own squadron, together with a large force of Khósáhs and Afgháns. This army marched out to meet Mír Bijár in response to his challenge.

Battle at Lányárí in the Shahdádpur Tálukah and murder of Mián Ghulám Nabí.

Mír Bijár had 6000 Balóches with him, all veteran soldiers and all determined to sell their lives dear. With these he advanced to meet the enemy. The two armies met at Lányárí, in the Tálukah of Shahdádpur and blood began to flow in streams. When Peróz Pitáfi, the chief leader of the Mián's forces fell, Mián Ghulám Nabí, seeing that his generals were losing ground and falling one after another, hastened to send one or two of his chief attendants with the Korán, to the Mír entreating him to get him out of the difficulty as he felt himself quite a prisoner in the hands of these wicked men. When Tájah Líkhí heard of this, he became very angry. Taking a handful of his cruel band he came to Mián Ghulám Nabí and despatched him with a blow, telling him "We knew that this was your object and that you were in the very beginning favourably inclined to the Mír; as you were against us, we won't allow you to continue longer in that happy position." They then turned back and coming to the river, got into a boat and sailed away to Sháhgarh. This event occurred in the year 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.)

As soon as the confusion subsided and Mír Bijár learnt that the enemy had murdered Mián Ghulám Nabí and had fled, he was very sorry and went immediately to the spot. Seeing the dead body of the late ruler of Sind he sat on the ground lamenting loudly for him. Then he ordered a rich coffin to be prepared and sent the body off

to Haidarábád, under the escort of a number of men. At the same time he sent an army in search of the villains who had committed such a murderous act.*

Seeing that the Mír's star was rising, most of the chiefs of the opposite side, like Alah Bakhsh Jhinjan, Muhammad Hasan Khuháwar and Mehráb Jatói, came and paid homage to him. The Mír was too noble-minded to remember their past behaviour, and readily pardoned them.

Muhammad Sarafráz, Atur Khán, Mahmúd Khán and Mír Muhammad murdered in cold blood, by Abdunnabí at Haidarábád.

We have seen that Muhammad Sarafráz was already in the fort of Haidarábád. He had his two sons Atur Khán and Mír Muhammad with him. His brother, Mahmúd Khán, whom the Mírs had raised to the throne after Muhammad Sarafráz's flight, being decoyed by the rebel chief, had subsequently joined them in the fort. Mián Ghulám Nabí had purposely kept them there, as he knew them all to be claimants to the throne. Ghulám Nabí's brother Abdunnabí, who had charge of them all, learning of his brother's death, became ambitious to secure the vacant throne. He therefore lost no time in calling the band of Júnejahs, who used to keep watch on the four noblemen, and instructing them to quietly despatch them. The instructions were readily carried out and the heads of four innocent men fell quickly to the ground.

CHAPTER X.

The rule of Mia'n Abdunnabi' Kha'n.†

Mián Abdunnabí called from Haidarábád by the Mír and proclaimed the ruler of Sind.

After the recent victory Mír Bijár fixed his headquarters at the new town of Khudábád. Seeing that there was no other Kalhórah chief living, he was obliged to call the murderous Abdunnabí from Haidarábád to fill the throne, vacated by his brother.

* The author of the Frerenámah says that Mír Bijár saw the Mián in his death agonies and expressed his grief. It it said that Mián asked him to put his brother Abdunnabí on the throne.

† The reign of this prince commenced in 1197 A.H. (1782 A.D.).

Abdunnabí was only too ready to obey the summons. He started immediately and in one day arrived at Hálah Kandí,* where he was met by the Mír and other chiefs the next morning. The Mián was led in a procession to the shrine of Makhdúm Núh and there the turban of rulership was placed on his head. He was then escorted to Khudábád in great pomp and lodged in the palace of Muhammad Sarafráz Khán.

As might be expected, Mír Bijár became the chief minister and counsel of the new ruler; consequently the administration of State affairs was carried on on just and improved principles, to the great happiness of the people in general.

Alah Bakah Jhinjan and Tájah Líkhí made prisoners.

The first act of the new ruler was to call Alah Baksh Jhinjan to his presence in an open court, to reproach him for his disloyalty in taking the side of the villanious Líkhí against his own masters, and to order his confinement. Meanwhile Tájah Líkhí also fell into the hands of the Mír's forces. The wretched man was brought in chains to the Mián together with his children and near relatives. As the Mián had the murder of his innocent brother fresh in his memory, he ordered his execution. The noble-minded Mír forgetting his revenge, came foward to intercede for him. He entreated the Mián to pardon him and his life was spared.

The king's army under Izzatyár Khán invades Sind and is defeated by the Mír in the District of Shikárpur.

Since the time of Mián Sarafráz Khán the revenue of Sind had declined considerably, and consequently the fixed annual tribute could not be paid regularly into the royal treasury. It was represented to king Taimúr Sháh† by certain envious people that the Balóch tribe was in great power in Sind; that an Abbásí chief had been made a nominal ruler; that the reins of government were really in Mír Bijár's hands, who had become very powerful and headstrong; that he would

---

* The town of Hálah was so called.

† This was the younger son of Ahmad Sháh Durání, who coming from Khurásán, had defeated his elder brother Sulaimán Sháh, who had been elected to the throne and had proclaimed himself the king.

not be disposed to pay annual tribute; and that he would not come to his senses unless he was chastised for his arrogance. Naturally the king was angry and ordered an expedition against Sind, under the leadership of Izzatyár Khán, who was an Abbásí himself and had been with the king as an hostage for some years past, being a cousin of Mián Abdunnabí Khán. As he had been a candidate for the vacant throne, the king appointed him as ruler, to the exclusion of Abdunnabí Khán, who had been elected by the Mír. An army of ten thousand men, consisting of Durání and Bábarí Afgháns under the command of Mahfúz Khán, was ordered to accompany Izzatyár Khán. Kamruddín, the king's agent for the Derahs* was directed to defray the expenditure of the expedition from the revenue of that Division, and also to furnish an additional force of Afgháns and Balóches. Hearing of this movement, the Khósahs, who lived about the place, and who had a tribal feud with the Mírs, collected in vast numbers and joined the newly appointed ruler. At the same time, royal orders were issued to the Governors of Multán and Shikárpur, as well as to the chiefs of the Dáúdpótahs and Bróhís,† to assist Izzatyár Khán as far as lay in their power.

When the above detachments assembled, the number reached to 30,000. Izzatyár Khán now addressed the following letter to Mír Bijár Khán—"O brave chief, you must know that Abdunnabí has been set aside by the king and I am appointed in his place. If you come and pay allegiance to me you will continue as the fortunate possessor of administrative powers as hitherto. I am not a stranger. I am a grandson of Khudáyár Khán. But if you will not submit and seek to fight with me, then you will gain nothing and cause the death of many innocent people for nothing." To this, Mír Bijár sent the following reply—"I am obliged to you for the letter. You have taken the trouble of coming to Sind as a claimant to the throne, but you must know, that you come to fight with your own uncle, who is like a father to you. I am pledged to remain faithful to him. Victory

---

* Derahs Ghází Khán and Ismáíl Khán.

† That is, the rulers of Baháwalpur and Kalát.

and defeat are in the hands of God. I am bound to stand by Mián Abdunnabí. I shall soon be with you, along with my master, and so good bye for the present."

Mír Bijár now called his brave Balóches, who numbered about 18,000 men. He started with that force, in the company of Mián Abdunnabí Khán. After hasty marches, he arrived at Lóhrí on the river.* Two hundred boats were ready and a bridge was instantly put on the river. In one or two days, the whole force passed over and came to Shikárpúr, where the enemy's forces had halted. Before long, martial music sounded, flags were seen moving, and the Afghán and Balóch adversaries joined in a close fight. A fierce battle raged now, as there were brave soldiers on both the sides.† After all, the Afghán force gave way and was succeeded by the Khósahs, who too did not stand the Balóch charge very long but were put to flight in great confusion, after a large number of them had been cut to pieces. Izzatyár Khán and Mahfúz Khán saved themselves by galloping away on fleet horses, leaving behind their tents, elephants, and other baggage. They did not halt till they had joined the king's camp.

Some of the Afghán chiefs, including the Governor of Shikárpúr, took shelter within the walls of the fort, to which the victorious army of the Mián and the Mír now laid siege. It soon fell into their hands. The Mír issued an order preventing his soldiers, on pain of death, from plundering the place, or harming the inmates, because, said he. "This is the city of the king and we are all his servants." The next morning, all the Afghán chiefs were called one by one and asked to give their names and parentage. After this ceremony was gone through each of them was presented with a dress of honour, a horse and way expenses, and dismissed.‡

---

* Róhrí was so called then.

† The poetical author of the Fatehnámah characterizes this battle as a fight between lions on one side and tigers on the other.

‡ The above event occurred in 1196 A.H. (1781 A.D.).

The king himself marches towards Sind and Mír Bijár proceeds from Shikárpúr to pay respects to him.

The recent defeat of the Afgháns gave ample opportunity to the Mír's enemies to excite the anger of the king. They said he had been disrespectful to the king and arrogant, and that unless the king himself marched against him and made an example of him for other chiefs, the prestige of royalty would be irretrievably despised and lost. Accordingly, king Taimúr Sháh started with a large army for Sind, with Mahfúz Khán in his company. When Mián Abdunnabí Khán and Mír Bíjár got this news, they coolly sent their man to Lóhrí, to throw a bridge of boats on the river for the king to pass over. Proceeding a few stages from Shikárpur the Mír sent a letter to the king, in a very respectful tone, telling him that his enemies had slandered him to his majesty, that he was still true and loyal to him and that after he had paid his respects to him and given proofs of faithfulness personally, his majesty would be satisfied with his conduct. At the same time the king also heard that a bridge of boats had been prepared at Lóhrí for him to pass over. The king received this letter at about two stages from Shikárpur. His anger was much appeased and his heart inclined to the Mír. Shortly after this, the king was met by the Mír, who had come with 30,000 Balóches to receive him. A short conversation was enough to show to the king that what the enemies of the Mír had spoken to him aganist the Mír was all false and that the Mír was really a wise man and a brave soldier. Seeing the king's kindness towards the Mír, the latter's enemies in the king's camp began to fear for their own safety. Foremost of all Mahfúz Khán earnestly entreated the king to return from there without proceeding to Shikárpur. The king consented to do so. He wrote a letter to Mián Abdunnabí, confirming him as ruler of Sind, pardoning the Mír for his fighting with the royal forces, and calling upon him to be regular in sending the usual tribute. When this letter was received by Mián Abdunnabí, Mír Bíjár returned to Shikárpur.

Murder of Mír Bíjár by treachery.

After a short time two Hindú Rajpúts, Ráthórs by caste, came as envoys from the Rájah of Jódhpur, to Mián Abdunnabí. They began to visit the Mián and the Mír by turns. One day, these two treacherous

Hindús came to Mír Bijár and told him that they had a confidential letter of their Mahárájah with them, the contents of which they wanted to communicate to him in private. They hinted to him that the Rájah of Jódhpur had received some secret letters from Mían Abdunnabí speaking ill of the Mír. They said the letter referred to, was in the Hindí character and so no other person could read it to the Mír except themselves. They therefore wanted to be with him alone in private. This was arranged and Mír Bijár was left alone in the company of the two envoys, who had two attendants with them. The latter, however, sat at a respectful distance, together with a native Hindú by name Ísar, who had brought the report of the envoys to him. The two envoys sat very close to the Mír and one of them taking out a letter began to read it. He faltered, pretending not to be able to read or understand the writing. So his companion drew close to him. They then took the letter to the Mír, trying to point out the writing to him. While doing so they thrust their daggers, which they had concealed in the folds of their dress, into the Mír's bosom. The blood began to flow in the room. The Mír jumped up in an instant and with the sword lying by his side, cut the four treacherous Hindús into halves. Then he fell down dead almost immediately, before any help could arrive. At the time of death the Mír expressed his pleasure at sharing the same fate that had attended his own father and brother, and the grandsons of the Prophet, *viz.*, Hasan and Husain. Thus died the wisest, bravest and most pious nobleman, that Sind had ever produced.*

Flight of Mían Abdunnabí to Kalát out of fear.

On the death of Mír Bijár, he was succeeded by his son Mír Abdulláh, as the head of the Balóch tribe. He was however not present at the time of his father's death,† and Mír Fateh Khán, being the eldest relation of the late Mír, conducted the mourning ceremony, till Mír Abdulláh joined him. Mír Abdulláh was a worthy son of

* This sad event occurred in the year 1194 A.H. according to Frere-námah (1781 A.D.)

† About this time the *derah* or residence of the Mírs was at Shahdádpur, as already mentioned.

a worthy father and possessed all the virtues of his late father. It was soon known to the Mírs that the death of Mír Bijár was at the instigation of Mían Abdunnabí,* a fact which they could not easily believe, knowing full well that the late Mír had done nothing to deserve such treatment at the hands of his lord and master. They however thought it proper, to go and pay respects to the Mían, after the mourning ceremony was over. Accordingly Mír Fateh Khán (Mír Sóbdar's son), and Mír Suhráh, (Mír Chákar's son) accompanied their new chief Mír Abdulláh, to the Mían. Mían Abdunnabí, who had been stung by his own concience and feared the revenge of the Balóches, believing that the Palóch chiefs were determined to murder him, left his palace during the night, attended by 200 of his confidential attendants from amongst the Jatóis, Jhinjans and others, on fleet horses. With the necessary provisions and gold loaded on camels, he started for the river, which he crossed hastily; and then, with the help of the Nuhmardís† of Kankór left for Kalát. At the same time, he sent his sons to the Rájah of Jódhpúr.

When the Mírs learnt this, they thought it proper to remove fear from the Mián's mind, as they never meant to do any harm to him. Accordingly, they sent some trustworthy men of theirs with the Kórán to the Mián, with the following message. "The word of God is between you and us, and we swear by it that we have no suspicions against you and that we mean you no harm. Moreover some of your councillors are very mischievious, and though they appear to be your friends, are really your enemies. Beware of them. They take you from door to door and make you a beggar before strangers. Avoid them and return to your own country and rule it as before. You will never find loyal men like us in the whole world."

The solemn messsage was duly delivered to Mián Abdunnabí, but his councillors did not advise him to

*It is believed that for these services, the Mían gave Umarkót to the Rájah of Jódhpur.

†Nuhmardí is the Persian name of the hilly tribe better known as Núnrias.

comply with the request. On the return of the messengers, therefore, the Mír called his companions to put some ruler on the vacant throne. The chief men of the Kalhórahs had already been murdered and none remained from whom to select for the purpose. One Sádikalí Fakír,* a kinsman of the late rulers, who was said to be a respectable and sensible person, lived in retirement at Khát, on the river. The Mír therefore took a detachment of soldiers with him and went to escort him to the capital. Arrived at the place, he placed the turban of rulership on his head, and brought him on an elephant to the city with pomp and glory.

CHAPTER XI.

The rule of Mia'n Sa'dik Ali' Kha'n.

Mián Sádik Alí Khán was placed on the throne, but as he was a pious man, he did not feel inclined to engage much in worldly affairs, and so the whole burden of managing the State affairs fell on Mír Abdulláh Khán. The latter tried his best to give satisfaction to the people by having recourse to just measures. He repealed the poll-tax and abolished the giving of presents to rulers, which were in vogue at that time and had much inconvenienced the people. As the fact was proclaimed throughout the province, the people were very glad and felt grateful to the Mír.

Mián Sádik Alí Khán elected by Mír Abdulláh to be the ruler of Sind.

After a short time news was received that a large army sent by Bajesing, the Rájah of Jódhpur, was coming from the east to invade Sind, and another sent by Muhammad Nasír Khán of Kalát, with Mián Abdunnabí was marching from the north, joined by the mercenary forces of the Nuhmardís. The Mír summoned his friends for consulta-

---

* The reader may observe that about this time Fakír was a respectable term or title for a courtier or a follower of the Kalhórah chiefs, who were looked upon as spiritual guides. On the tombs of the old Tálpurs and Mírs, the word Faki'r is inscribed instead of Mír as on the tombs near Sháhpur in the Sakrand Talúkah.

tion and after some discussion they determined to face the army of Jódhpur and then to meet the Bróhís. Preparations were hurriedly made and on the third day the forces were in motion towards the sandy desert.

Defeat of the Jódhpur forces by the Mír.

When the Balóch forces left Khudábád, Mián Sádik Alí Khán himself joined them along with Mír Abdulláh Khán, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the same. They passed the waterless desert easily as they had carried their own supply of water with them, and came to a hilly tower, where they found about 100 men armed with golden muskets posted in it. They were Rájahs and Chiefs of the Ráthór tribe, among whom the most prominent were Bajesing's son and son-in-law. On the ground had assembled an innumerable army, who, when they saw the Balôches, flattered themselves with the belief that the latter had been brought to the place by fate never to return alive.

Mír Abdulláh now prepared to make an attack and began to array his army. He himself headed the central division, while he put Mír Fatéh Alí and Mír Suhráb on the two wings. The advance guard was given in charge of the veteran Mír Fatéh Khán, with Mirzó Fakír* and his son Bághah as his assistant, and consisted chiefly of Nizámánís and Jamálís and Ligháris. The kettle drums began to beat, the pipes began to play and war-cries rose in the air. At first the fight went on with guns, subsequently swords were brought in use. A very severe battle ensued. It was a battle between the Balóches and Rájputs.

At last Mír Fateh Alí Khán gained the upper hand on his side and the Ráthórs were put to flight. Soon they were followed by others, and a general route ensued. In a short time the field was clear of the enemy, who disappeared leaving a large number of Hindús dead and wounded, together with their heavy baggage. Valuable booty fell into the hands of the victorious Balóches,—tents, carpets, guns, elephants, camels, etc. The solid golden armlets alone, removed from the arms of the dead, were enough to cheer the hearts of the Balóch conquerors.

* He was called "Sultán Jang" as related in the Frerenamah.

Abdunnabi with the Bróhí forces defeated by the Mír at the Chálak Bridge.

The conquerors had hardly taken rest when a camelman brought to their camp a letter from Mír Fateh Alí's brother Mír Ghulám Alí, informing them that Mían Abdunnabí had arrived as far as Ládkánah with a Boróhí force, that had been given to him by Muhammad Nasír, the Khán of Kalát, under the command of his son-in-law Zarak, on the understanding that the Mían, when reinstated, would give him, in return, 3 *laks* of rupees and some part of his country; and that the army had been joined by Mehráb and Dhingánah Jatóis and by the Jhinjans, Khósahs, Nuhmardís and other tribes. When Mír Abdulláh got this news, he did not ungirdle himself. He also required his comrades not to do so either. Without losing time, he started from there in the direction of the enemy whom he met at the bridge of Chálak. There he halted opposite the enemy's camp, Mían Abdunnabí, believing that the Balóches had arrived there after hard travelling and that they must be exhausted with fatigue, advised his friends to attack them immediately and thus to gain an advantage over them. Hastily therefore they drew up their army in three divisions, the centre being led by Mían Abdunnabí himself with the forces of the Jatóis and the Khósahs, the right wing consisting of the Kalátís or Bróhís under Zarak and the left of Nuhmardís. Seeing the advance of the enemy in the above order, Mír Abdulláh likewise divided his army in three divisions. He made Mían Sádik Alí Khán who had been brought on an elephant to the battle-field, with Mírzó Fakír and his son Bághah, go against Abdunnabí Kháu. Mír Fateh Khán with the force of Nizámánís was appointed to fight with the Nuhmardís; while he himself with his cousin Mír Fateh Alí Khán on his right and Mír Suhráb Khán on his left, determined to meet the Bróhís. The battle commenced with guns. After a brisk contest Mír Fateh Khán's forces were pushed back. The Mír had received a bullet-wound in the last battle with the Rájpúts and that had more or less disabled him from fighting actively. At the same time Abdunnabí gained the upper hand over the column under Mían Sádik Alí and drove it back. Seeing this state of things Mír Abdulláh re-doubled his courage and called on his cousins to do the same. They left their horses and sword-in-hand made a vigorous attack on the centre of the enemy causing great confusion and killing

Zarak Bróhí, Mehrab Jatóí and a number of other veteran soldiers. The result was that the enemy fled in confusion leaving much booty for the Balóches. Once more victorious, the Mían and the Mír returned to Khudábád.

Mían Abdunnabí returns with reinforcements under Madad Khán Afghán and other chiefs.

Mír Abdulláh Khán now got an ample opportunity of attending to peaceful measures for the country. Meanwhile Mían Abdunnabí returned to Kalát, when he heard that Sardár Madad Khán Afghán had come to Bahawalpur, the country of Muhammad Bahawal, the chief of the Daúdpótahs, with a large army from the camp of the King, and that out of fear, Muhammad Bahawal had left his capital and gone away. Abdunnabí sent a trustworthy messenger to the Sardár with rich presents and splendid promises of gold, telling him that he had been driven away by the Balóches from his country and asking him to kindly help him. At the same time, he sent messengers one after another to the King's camp calling Mahtúz Khán to his assistance. Orders were issued by the king to Madad Khán to take the army to Sind. Accordingly the Sardár came to Sind and was met by Abdunnabí with the forces of Bróhís and Nuhmardís. Madad Khán informed him that he had to defray the expenses of the expedition from the time he had left Bahawalpur and that half of the money promised should be given to him at once in advance and the other half might be given later on. Immediately Tahsíldárs were appointed by him to demand and receive the money. Abdunnabí being thus pressed very hard, had no alternative but to tell Sardár Madad Khán, that he had his vast treasures buried within his fort, that as soon as it was taken from the enemy, the treasures would be at his disposal, meanwhile the spoils gathered by the Afgháns in the country would be enough to supply provisions for the army. Knowing that these were false promises, Madad Khán called Abdunnabí's chief advisers Biláwal son of Tájah Líkhí, Tájah Sámtiah and one other person* to put them in chains. Next he ordered them to be put in the stocks, and as he marched on to the capital of Sind, he ordered the prisoners to be tortured in order to extract the truth from them about the treasures.

* This was the chief gate-keeper by name Budhah, according to the Frerenámah.

Mír Abdulláh advances to meet Madad Khán in the open field.

Madad Khán came on like a wild hurricane plundering the country and devastating towns and villages in his way. When he crossed the river, heart-rending complaints were carried by the poor people to Mír Abdulláh Khán, who thought himself bound by duty to remove their grievances. He held a council with his kinsmen and proposed an immediate march to meet the Afghán Sardár and checkmate him. Mír Fateh Alí and Mír Suhráb seconded him in his proposal, but the old Mír Fateh Khán did not join them in it. His brief argument was that the king was the shadow of God and that they should not draw swords against the king's army. But the young Mírs thought that the king should have God-like virtues in him; that he should be merciful towards his subjects and that it was inconsistent with his duty to allow poor people to be plundered, or to levy cruel taxes for his own pleasure. In short Mír Abdulláh, accompanied by Mírs Fateh Alí, Ghulám Alí and Suhráb started, leaving behind Mír Fateh Khán and Mirzó Fakír with some of the Nizámání chiefs, who had taken his side. After Mír Abdulláh Khán had travelled for two stages, the old generals left behind became very uneasy without them, and regretted not having joined them at the outset. They therefore hastened to follow them, and overtaking them, entreated the Mír with the Korán in their hands, not to attack the king's army without ceremony, but to halt at the place for some days and let the enemy commence hostilities and be the first to assault, and then, they said, they might do what they liked in defence.

The Mír makes a long halt, and Madad Khán sends envoys to the Mír for peace and then goes to Khudábád.

The Mír agreed to adopt the policy suggested by Mír Fateh Khán and made a long halt, where he had arrived, making preparations meanwhile for the coming fight. Soon information was received that Sardár Madad Khán had arrived within 12 miles of the Mír's camp. While the Mírs were girding up their loins, Madad Khán hearing that his adversary was so very near, became more careful about himself and his camp. A column of Bróhís and Nuhmardís was sent to reconnoitre, and the advance guard was at once tripled. He hastily summoned a council of war and came to the conclusion that an attempt should be first made to bring

about peace with the Mír. Accordingly a Bábarí Chief, with the Sardár's Chief Secretary, were sent as envoys to the Mír with the following message: "I know that you, one and all, are brave warriors and wise men. Abdunnabí is a fool and a mischievous person and is assisted by men who are false and treacherous. I have already punished them by putting three of them in chains. My request is that you should go back to your native places. I am coming with these fools to Khudábád as they say they have buried their treasures in the fort of Haidarábád. I know it is a lie and I wish to prove it so. For, then, I shall be able to report against them to the king and speak in your favour. I swear that I consider you all my friends and have no idea of fighting with you."

When the above message was delivered by the envoys, the Mír gave robes of honour and horses to them. In reply the following message was sent to the Sardár through Alahdád* and munshí Anbratrái, two chief attendants of the Mír:—"We are obedient servants to the king and consider you to be our friend, or rather a near relative, in the position of an uncle. Some envious tongues may have spoken against us to the king but we entertain hopes that you will kindly set the matter right. As you advise, we are ready to go back, but before receiving your message we had sworn not to turn away from our adversaries. So long therefore, as your army remains there, in opposition to us, the oath cannot be broken by our turning back. If really you intend to march on to Khudábád, you may do so going along the river. After you pass another way, we shall be free and will then move to Umarkót, where our baggage is already lying."

Sardár Madad Khán agreed to this and sent back the Mír's envoys with presents. He then ordered the Nuhmardís to take the lead and guide on his army. Muhammad Nasír's Bróhí column followed the Nuhmardís and he himself with his Afgháns went behind the Bróhís. In this order the royal army moved to Khudábád, where it arrived in one day and night.

---

* Alahdád Líkhí was brother to Tájáh Líkhí.

Oppression of Madad Khán and Abdunnabí on the people of Sind.

As soon as they arrived at the capital, Abdunnabí was pressed to produce the treasures promised by him. To satisfy this demand Abdunnabí was obliged to send his men to collect gold and silver, wherever they could find them. Madad Khán also left his own men to their own ways to go about plundering towns and villages and securing by force whatever valuables they could find with the people. A reign of terror now commenced. Every one, high or low, rich or poor, was beaten and deprived of his property, "even to the clothes on their persons, to the shoes in their feet and to the mats in their houses," * not to mention other kinds of oppression and cruelty, that were practised on them by these unprincipled and unchecked villains. Cries and wailings went up to Heaven from every direction and all prayed to God for immediate relief and mercy.†

Mír Abdulláh leaves Umarkót with a large army to help the people to oppose Madad Khán.

When Mír Abdulláh Khán heard at Umarkót that the people of Sind were being treated mercilessly at the hands of the mixed hordes of Afgháns, Bróhís, Nuhmardís and Sindís, he was very sorry at having followed Mír Fateh Khán's advice in not opposing the Afghán Sardár at the outset. He therefore again called his cousins Mírs Fateh Alí and Ghulám Alí and his uncle Mír Suhráb and after some close consultation determined to march against Madad Khán, disregarding the dissentient voice of the old Mír Fateh Khán. Immediate orders were issued for the expedition and the army was ready before the next morning. Mír Fateh Khán perceiving the movements of Mír Abdulláh came with his comrades and joined him at the very first stage. The Mír reproached him openly for his mistaken policy

---

* The quotation is from the Fatehnámah.

† "About this time (1781) broke out the rebellion of the Talpoories, which ended in the expulsion of the Governor of Sind. In the course of the next year, the king (Timour Sháh) sent a force under Madad Khán to reduce the insurgents, which soon overran the whole province. The Talpoories retired to their original desert, and the other inhabitants appear to have fled to hills and jungles to avoid the Dooranee army. Madad Kháu laid waste the country with fire and sword; and so severe were his ravages, that a dreadful famine followed his campaign, and the province of Sind is said not yet to have recovered from what it suffered on that occasion."—*Elphinstone's Cabul.*

and held him responsible for the grievances of his countrymen. Mír Fateh Khán, though admitting the wisdom and advisability of the expedition, still recommended the amicable settlement of affair by words instead of arms. But the Mír quietly pursued his own plans and started straight for Khudábád being still accompanied by Mír Fateh Khán, who did not like to remain behind his chief.

Correspondence between the Mír and Madad Khán and the disagreement of Mír Fateh Khán.

When Sardár Madad Khán heard of the approach of the Mír's forces he became restless. He issued urgent orders to march, and the next morning he left Khudábád and encamped about 6 miles from the Mír's camp. Here Mír Abdulláh sent the following message to the Sardár, through his envoy Alahdád—"You were a great chief and I trusted your word. I never thought that you would say one thing and do another. You may be powerful, but that is no reason why you should oppress the poor people and make them feel your power. All are creatures of the same God and you should fear that God or else His punishment will overtake you, sooner or later."

When the Sardár got this message, he was much ashamed. He sent the following reply to the Mír with his own confidential men. "O! noble Mír, your words are noble. You are doubtless young in years, but old in wisdom and experience. I value your advice and I myself do not like to oppress the creatures of God. As Abdunnabí would not give me the promised gold or even provisions for the army, the latter was obliged to go about plundering. Properly speaking, it is he who is responsible to God for this oppression and not I. As for my words of honour and the promise made by me, I assure you that I have repeatedly sent letters to his majesty, recommending you to be the administrator of this country, on condition that you should regularly send the fixed tribute to the royal coffers. I undertake to do the desirable, but if you are faithful to the king and true to me, come to visit me, who am your guest, with your kinsmen Fateh Alí, Fateh Khán and Suhráb. But in the first place disband your army, for that will be the proof of your faithfulness to the king. Thereby you will gain your object, and your enemies will be greatly disappointed."

When this message was received, Mír Abdulláh declared his inability to agree to it, as he said he could not dismiss his men, who were all his brothren and castefellows and would be offended with him for doing so. Mír Fateh Khán, however, again appeared ready to second the Sardár's suggestion. Mír Abdulláh therefore in consultation with Mírs Fateh Alí, Ghulám Alí and Suhráb, started with their army to meet the enemy in the open field. At the same time they nominally called Mír Fateh Khán to join them, but the latter turned his face from them, and rode away towards Umarkót with his band headed by Bághah Fakír. After a quick march Mír Abdulláh with his men arrived at Díngarh and encamped there.

Sardár Madad Khán goes to Umarkót where Mír Fateh Khán is induced to visit him and to fall in a trap, but he manages to escape.

When Sardár Madad Khán heard about the disagreement between the Mírs, he tried to take advantage of their rupture. He at once marched to Umarkót and sent flattering messages to Mír Fateh Khán, calling him to visit him and promising to get him an honourable position. Mír Fateh Khán agreed but wanted some assurance. Immediately Sardár Nawáb Jang was sent by the Sardár, accompanied by Muhammad Hasan, sent on behalf of Abdunnabí to pledge word for their masters. They induced Mír Fateh Khán to come and pay respects to the Sardár, and the Mír instantly went to Sardár's tent. After exchanging ordinary compliments, the Sardár, at first, treated him like an equal, and kept him pleased with words. After they had travelled a few stages and encamped at Lóhrí, the Sardár showed his true colours. He charged the Mír with having been a rebel, and called upon him to pay two *laks* of rupees to secure pardon and freedom. The Mír had no alternative but to agree to pay the amount. The Sardár next asked him about the whereabouts of Mír Abdulláh and his kinsmen Mír Fateh Alí and Suhráb, telling him at the same time to write to them and to call them, or else he would be punished. Dumb with fear, Mír Fateh Khán wrote the letter dictated by the Sardár and despatched it with a camelman to Mír Abdulláh. Mír Fateh Khán coming to his own tent, a guard of 50 men was put over him, to watch his movements. The Mír now, for the first time saw that he had committed a blunder in deserting Mír Abdulláh. He knew that the latter would care very

little for the letter sent by him, and could already imagine what tortures he would receive after the reply was received. He therefore determined to escape by some means. He selected a few horsemen from among his followers and told them outwordly to go to such and such a village and to bring such and such a Hindú, that he might take money from him to give to the Sardár. Secretly, however he instructed them to wait in a particular place with some fleet horses. The next night when the guards went to sleep, the Mír made one of his men sleep in his own bed and putting on a watchman's dress left the place and was soon with the men waiting for him. They galloped hard and did not rest till they had arrived at the camp of Mír Abdulláh.

Madad Khán goes from Lóhrí to Dingarh where the Mír's camp is.

When the day broke, the Sardár heard of the escape of Mír Fateh Khán. Men were sent in all directions in search of him, but they returned unsuccessful. He soon learnt that the Mír had safely joined his kinsmen at Díngarh. His anger knew no bounds and he had the watchmen beheaded. Forthwith he left Lóhrí and came to Ubáorah, where he made a halt. From there he sent messengers to Mír Abdulláh, expressing his friendship towards him and advising him not to believe Mír Fateh Khán, who had not yet seen much of him and did not know his intentions. "I am anxious" said he, "to meet you, as I have Abdunnabí with me and I have sworn with him to bring out reconciliation between you and by way of recommendation to give his hand into yours. I therefore urgently request you to meet me. Should you have any misgivings about me, here, I send the Kórán to you to assure you of my truthfulness. My object simply is that this misunderstanding between you both should be removed and that there should be peace in this country. For, then, I can go back light-minded to the king and satisfy him fully about you."

The Mír was wise enough to see through the crafty words of the cunning Sardár. His reply was therefore short and to the point. "I am a man of one word, and I have said already what I had to say. If I had no regard for the king, I would, ere this, have come to you to set matters right." Immediately he asked Mír Fateh Alí to make preparations for war and sent word to the Sardár to

expect him very soon. When Madad Khán got this reply, he became very impatient. He determined to leave the country for good and that very day crossed the river. He dismissed Abdunnabí to shift for himself, but he carried with him his three friends who had been prisoners with him.*

CHAPTER XII.

The rule of Mia'n Abdunnabí again.

Abdunnabí is reconciled to the Mír and is again recognized as a ruler.

Left alone and helpless, Abdunnabí thought of trying to be reconciled to the Mír. With this object in view, he deputed Bághah Fakír son of Mirzó Fákír to go to the Mír and settle matters. At the same time he entreated Muhammad Baháwal, the chief of the Dáúdpótahs to help him in the affair. Fazlalí Khán's help was also sought in the same way.† Muhammad Baháwal sent his brother Sardár Khán, who accompanied by Fazlalí and other chiefs, went to the Mír. Abdunnabí even succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of Mír Fateh Khán, who undertook to speak in his favour. Abdunnabí sent a copy of the Korán to the Mír, with the following words written in his own handwriting on the margin of the book,—"I hereby commit to writing and swear by the word of God that henceforth, I shall remain true to the Mír and will not prove treacherous." When the Korán was brought to the Mír, he got up before it, out of respect. He kissed it and placed it on his head. He read the words and accepted them to be true, though he still suspected treachery. For, there and then, he remarked to his cousin Mír Fateh Alí "Brother, I lay my head as a sacrifice on the Korán. I may soon join my grandfather and father and uncle, and I leave my little children to your care. I hope you will treat them like a father." So saying the Mír walked to the tent of Mián Abdunnabí, in the com-

* This occurred in the year 1195 A.H. (1781 A.D.) according to the Frerenámah.

† Fazlalí Khán was one of the Governors or subordinate chiefs of Muhammad Baháwal Dáúdpótah (*Frerenamah.*)

pany of other nobles. Abdunnabí apparently gave him a very hearty reception. In the evening he returned the visit to the Mír and seemed to repent of what he had been doing so long. Soon they became friends as before and travelled on together, till they arrived at old Khudábád. Mián Abdunnabí was now treated as the ruler and the Mír went over to his court every day, as the fashion was, along with a few friends or attendants. Abdunnabí was secretly watching for some opportunity to execute his nefarious plan. As, however, he could not yet succeed, he hit upon another treacherous plan. One night he put on the dress of a beggar and taking an attendant with him, came privately to the Mír's residence. He then addressed him in the following manner,—"O! wise Mír, either kill me now or make me your prisoner. As I think you have not yet full faith in the Korán, or my writing on it, here I am alone and unarmed at your place. You come to my place with a large number of men, which shows that some suspicion still lurks in your mind about me. Now do whatever you like to me."

The Mír was much ashamed. He gave word to him that in future he would visit him alone, as thereafter he had no fear of him. The next morning the Mír sent away his followers and forces to his own *derah* or residence,* along with his kinsmen and chiefs, Fateh Alí, Ghulám Alí, Suhráb, Alahyár, Thárah † and others. Only he himself, Mír Fateh Khán and Mirzó Fakír remained behind with a few Balóch attendants and officers. Thereafter the Mír began to visit Mián Abdunnabí, with one or two men only.

Murders of Mírs Abdulláh and Fateh Khán and Mirzó Fakír by treachery.

The Mián now began to laugh in his sleeve, pleased at the idea that he had at last got an opportunity to get rid of his enemy. One day he instructed a number of his men to appear fully armed in the court the next morning, when the two Mírs should come to visit him in the usual manner. The morning came and Mír Abdulláh with Mír Fateh Khán came to the court. Before they entered the presence of the Mían, the latter asked some

* *Viz.*, Shahdádpur.

† Mírs Alahyár and Thárah were Mír Fateh Khán's sons.

men to require the Mírs to come to him without their arms. The men communicated the order to the Mírs, who thought the Mían was testing their faith and feelings. For a minute they hesitated, seeing that some treason was afoot, but they remembered the promise made by them on the Korán, and resolved to become martyrs. Each of them quietly removed their swords and handed them over to the men. Instantly they were surrounded by the Mián's armed men and taken prisoners. At the same time some men ran to the Mír's tents, where about 100 Balóches were staying, including Mírzó Fakír, who was confined to bed owing to illness. A volley of guns was fired at them, killing a large number of them. Those who survived were killed with swords, though in doing so, about 200 of the Mián's own men lost their lives in the assault made by the Balóches in their self-defence. An executioner now appeared at the place, where the two noble prisoners had been confined and where they were spending their last moments in reading the Korán. First a blow was given to Mír Abdulláh and his head rolled down by the side of the Korán, reddening the sacred pages with his innocent blood. The next blow was given to the old Mír Fateh Khán, and his head, separated from his body, struck his young relation's head. Thus died these two noble and innocent chiefs by the treachery of Mián Abdunnabí.*

Mír Fateh Alí Khán succeeds Mír Abdulláh, occupies the fort of Díngarh and proceeds against Abdunnabí.

Mír Abdulláh died leaving two little sons Ghulám Husain and Bahrám, and Mír Fateh Khán died leaving two grown up sons, Mírs Alahyár and Thárah. Mír Fateh Alí Khán was formally declared to be the head of the Balóches as soon as the tragic news was received by them. All were prostrated with grief at first, but they were soon up, ready to be revenged on the murderous Abdunnabí. Mír Fateh Alí Khán wanted to march against him without any loss of time, but Mír Suhráb proposed to remove their families and their heavy baggage to the fort of Díngarh for their safety, and from thence to march against the enemy. This proposal was approved by all and Mír Fateh Alí Khán acted accordingly. They came to Díngarh and occupied the fort. After the families and children were

* This event occurred in the year 1197 A.H. (1783 A.D.) (*Frere-námah.*)

comfortably lodged, Mir Fateh Alí Khán accompanied by his brother Mír Ghulám Alí Khán, Mír Suhráb, Mír Fateh Khán's sons Alahyár and Thárah, and Bághah Fakír, started with an army of six thousand selected Balóches. As that army was small as compared with the enemy's army, Mír Suhráb offered to go to Wangah* and bring Nindah and other Balóch chiefs with their forces to assist. The Mír permitted him to do so. Accordingly Mír Suhráb left his nephew and went to Wangah.

Advance of Abdunnabí to meet the Balóches.

When Abdunnabí heard that Mír Fateh Alí Khán had come with a Balóch army to the battle-field, he advanced with his forces to meet him. He appointed Muhammad Hasan Khuháwar to be the Commander-in-Chief and to go in advance with his Khuháwars. He was also joined by Bilawal, the son of Rájah Líkhí with a large squadron. Ghulám Hasan, the son of Alah Baksh Jhinjan, marched next with his tribesmen. He was followed by Rájah Sámtiah, Dhingánah Jatói, Peróz Kalerí, Peróz Tálpur, with their respective forces, together with large hordes of Nuhmardís, Khósahs and Afgháns under the leadership of Sardár Khán and Is-hák Khán. The number of these fighting men exceeded thirty thousand.

The battle of Hálání and the defeat of Abdunnabí.

Proceeding with the above forces Mián Abdunnabí came to Hálání† about 6 miles from the Mír's camp and halted there. Seeing that the enemy had come prepared to fight, Mír Fatehalí Khán, without waiting for succour to be brought by his uncle Mír Suhráb, marched on to meet them. The two armies met and the bloody work commenced. Muskets and bows were brought in use at first. Then the turn of swords came. While the fight was hot Mír Suhráb arrived with 3,000 brave Balóches. The leader of the enemy's advance guard Muhammad Hasan fought creditably, but he soon fell under the sword of Mír Fatehalí Khán. His brother Bákar hastened to fill the vacant place, but he too did not long survive his

---

* Also called Wangah Walásah.

† A town in the Kandiaró Táluka.

brother. Then the Mír ordered a general attack on the enemy from all sides. Mír Suhráb accordingly fell on the party of Sámtiahs and cut down Tájah Líkhí and his brother Alahdád. Mírs Ghulámalí, Alahyár, Thárah as well as Bághah Fakír each made havoc in the enemy's line in his own way, killed a large number and took others prisoners. In short Abdunnabí could not stand against the vehement attack of the Balóches and gave way. He plunged into the water of a lake that was close to the battle-field and made his escape with a few attendants, leaving his friends to shift for themselves. Crossing the lake with some difficulty, he betook himself to the river and putting himself in a boat went to the other side. Then he fled once more straight to the hills. The above battle was fought in the year 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.)*

The fight of Mián Abdunnabí was followed by a general route of his army. After gaining this victory, Mír Fateh Alí Khán came to Naoshahrah † and halted there. Biláwal Líkhí was pursued by a force, but escaped by sea to the Hálár mountains to seek help from the Hindús. Tájah Fakír, the son of Mehráb Jatói, and Dhingánah Jatói, having repented of having taken the side of the cowardly Abdunnabí came and joined the Mír with their forces. The Mír received them well and appointed Tájah to his father's post, giving Tájah's place to Dhingánah.

CHAPTER XIII.

The ascendency of Mír Fateh Alí Khán Tálpur.

Death of Mír Suhráb's brother Ghulám Muhammad at the hands of Rájpúts.

Mián Abdunnabí had long before this privately given Umarkót to Bajesing, the Rájah of Jódhpur, by taking a sum of money‡ The Rájah accordingly put a garrison of Rájpúts into the fort. When they received the news

---

* The author of the Fatehnámah has found the date by doubling the value of the name "Fatehalí" by *Abjad* calculation.

† This is Naoshahró Feróz.

‡ The author of the Frerenámah says that Umarkót had been given to Rájah for his services in murdering Mír Bijár.

of the Mír's victory, they sent messengers to the Rájah informing him of the fact, and requesting him to send fresh supplies of provisions and forces for defence against an attack by the enemy that appeared to be now most probable. Accordingly the Rájah sent a hundred camel-loads of provisions and 2,000 men to Umarkót, and they were on their way to that place. Unfortunately, Mír Ghulám Muhammad, brother to Mír Suhráb Khán, had been out on a hunting excursion in that direction and happened to meet this party of Rájpúts. The Mír, with his party which consisted of about one hundred men, attacked the advance party of the Rájpúts, who were not more than 300 men. About 100 out of these were cut down by the Balóches and the remaining 200 fled back to join the main column. They were pursued by the Balóches, who were ignorant of the large numbers coming behind. But they soon found their mistake, for they were surrounded by the overwhelming force and one and all cut to pieces, after themselves killing 300 Rájpúts. This event occurred in the year 1201 A.H. (1786 A.D.)

Revenge of Mír Suhráb.

When Mír Suhráb came to know of this event, his grief and anger knew no bounds. Instantly taking an army with him he started to wreak vengeance on the enemy. He was followed by fresh columns sent to his assistance by Mír Fateh Alí Khán. They soon overtook the Rájpúts, in their own country, and killed a large number of them. After plundering the country and razing to the ground several idol-houses, the victorious Balóches returned to their native place.

Abdunnabí's going again to Muhammad Nasír for help and the correspondence between the latter chief and the Mír.

For the third time now, Mían Abdunnabí went to Kalát to seek help from Muhammad Na-ír, the chief of the place. He promised to give him half of Sind in return for his services. But the chief had not forgotten the losses already suffered by him on the Mían's account in fighting with the Balóches. And so he refused to do anything in the matter, seeing that neither the royal forces, nor the Rájpúts, nor the Nuhmardís could help him successfully against the Balóches. But the Mían repeated his entreaties and appealed to his good sense and feelings.

Muhammad Nasír was thus obliged to stir once more in his case. But before collecting his forces, he wrote a letter to Mír Fateh Alí Khán, requesting him to send a wise ambassador of his, in order that he might discuss with him on various important political matters. The Mír agreed to the suggestion and sent Kaisar Fakír Nizámání,* an old counseller of his to the court of Kalát. At the interview that ensued between him and Muhammad Nasír, the latter sent the following message to the Mír:—"This shameless Abdunnabí has come to me for the third time to seek help. I have told him clearly that I do not wish to do anything in the matter, but he still presses in moving terms. I have therefore determined to get him away somehow and have promised to give him a force to take him safely up to Khudábád. After that I have nothing to do with him and you may deal with him, then, as you wish." He told the ambassador to request the Mír not to oppose his force, but to go out on a hunting excursion about the time, to show that the plan had not been prearranged. The envoy returned to the Mír and communicated the proposal to him. The Mír wrote a reply to the chief of Kalát agreeing to the proposal but telling him to instruct his force to come up to the river only and not to cross it. "If they cross the river this side," said he, "they should not consider us far off; any one coming this side will be liable to be treated rudely and punished."

The Mír's withdrawal from the capital on a sham excursion.

Soon after this, Mír Fateh Alí Khán, started on a hunting excursion in the direction of Wangah. The Balóches learning the true facts, hesitated to go with the Mír, as they were unwilling to let their enemy go unpunished. But on the Mír's persisting in carrying out the plan that he had considered most expedient, the Balóches gave in and followed their leader. When they arrived at Nasarpur, they asked the Mír's permission to proclaim to the people of different towns the desirability of their joining the Mír in the excursion for fear lest in his absence the enemy do harm to them or plunder their towns and villages. Many people accordingly joined the party. Unfortunately some of the rude Balóches of the hills of Káchhah, who had arrived about this time, seeing the Mír with his army at a long

* Tandó Kaisar, near Haidarábád is called after this man.

distance, were induced to plunder certain villages. The Mír on getting the news, was very angry. He compelled them to return the stolen property to the owners and insisted that they should never do such a thing again.

From Nasarpur the Mír proceeded to Wangah, where he spent about two months in amusing himself with hunting, at the same time watching anxiously that the arrangement made be carried out without any bad result.

Arrival of Mián Abdunnabí with the Kalát force at Hatrí in the Siwistán District and his ill-treatment at the hands of the same force.

Meanwhile Mián Abdunnabí taking an army of Bróhís, given to him by Muhammad Nasír, came to Hatrí in the District of Siwistán. He had chosen a place for crossing the river, but wanted to await the arrival of a Rájpút force, for which it appears he had secretly arranged with the Rájah of Jódhpur. He would not dismiss the Bróhís who became impatient to go back, especially as they demanded provisions and money. He was therefore obliged to hint to the Bróhís to secure the necessary expenses by plundering the country. But as most of the villages about the place had been purposely deserted by the residents the Bróhís could get nothing by such means. They therefore became clamorous and prepared to go back without ceremony. Abdunnabí had sent men to ask the Rájpút forces to come faster, but they said that unless the Mián crossed the river first, they would not come to his help. Hearing this Abdunnabí became very uneasy. The clamorous Bróhís had no alternative but to plunder Abdunnabí's own camp, carrying away horses, camels, tents, in fact anything on which they could lay hands. They deserted him and started for their native country.

At this crisis Abdunnabí thought it better to leave the place and take protection in the district of the Derahs, and he forthwith started in that direction. The Rájpút force, having waited long on the borders of their country and hearing that Abdunnabí had gone away without crossing the river, returned to their capital. This event occurred in the year 1197 A.H. (1783 A.D.)

The Mír returns to Khudábád and punishes the Nuhmardis and other refractory tribes.

When Mír Fateh Alí Khán got the above news, he left off hunting and returned to Khudábád. On his way, arriving at Haidarábád, he ordered Bághah Fakír

to go and punish the Nuhmardís and take them prisoners. This general collected 200 boats in order to cross the river and go against that tribe. The Nuhmardís hearing of the expedition against them surrendered and sought the Mír's pardon, which was granted them.

Soon after this, Ghulám Alí son of Kaisar Fakír Nízámání, who was the administrator of Tattá and Háji Ahmad Khizmatgár (or servant) were ordered to march with a large army to Kakrálah. Accordingly the two generals went to that capital of the Hindús, slaughtered a large number of them, and returned to their places.

Mír Fateh Alí Khán now left Khudábád and fixed his residence at Sháhpúr. From there he sent Háji Ahmad to go with a strong force to take the fort of Haidarábád by siege.

The Mír sends his envoys to the Court of King Taimúr Sháh.

After some days, the news arrived that Mián Abdunnabí after spending some days in the Derahs, had gone to the camp of King Taimúr Sháh, in order to seek justice at his hands. Diwán Gidúmal, the faithful courtier of the Mír, was the first to get the news and he advised his master to send some envoys to the King's Court to plead his own cause against the complaints of the Mián. The Diwán's suggestion was seconded by Mír Ghulám Alí and was willingly accepted by the Mír, who elected Sayyed Ibrahím Sháh* and Kaisar Fakír Nizámání with Mirzá Ghulám Alí to go as ambassadors to the royal court. The party soon left for their destination.

The Mír assists the chief of the Dáúdpótahs against Akhtiyár Khán.

Fazlalí Khán, a chief of the Dáúdpótahs, who was on very friendly terms with the Mír, having been driven away from his country by Akhtiyár Khán, a neighbouring chief, came to the Mír appealing for help. The Mír promptly responded to his appeal and started with large forces in the company of Fazalí Khán. Arriving within the territory of Akhtiyár Khán, they commenced predatory excursions. The chief was so much frightened

*The grand-father of the A'ghás living on the bank of the Fuleli, near Haidaràbád, in a *Tando*. More about them further on.

by the action of the Balóches that he quietly came forward and surrendered. The bordering tracts which formed the bone of contention or the cause of dispute between the two chiefs were ceded to Fazlalí Khán and two *laks* of rupees were fixed as indemnity for war expenditure to the Mír on Akhtiyár Khán. As the money could not be paid by the chief, within the fixed period, he left his brother in the fort and himself escaped at midnight to seek shelter somewhere else, as Abdunnabí had done. The next morning, when the Mír heard of his flight, he sent a column in pursuit of him and blockaded the fort, which soon fell into the hands of the Mír together with its occupants. But Muhammad Bahawal the ruler of the Dúdpótahs arrived in time to intercede for them, and on receipt of the indemnity from the people of the fort, they were pardoned.

The fort of Haidarábád is taken.

Mír Fateh Alí returned to Sháhpur and there got a letter from his General Hájí Ahmad informing him that he had taken the fort of Haidarábád, without much bloodshed, for the magazines in the fort had accidentally caught fire* and had facilitated the taking possession of it.

Abdunnabí and the Mír's envoys at the court of the king.

It has been mentioned that Abdunnabí after spending some time in the Derahs had gone to the court of Taimúr Sháh, complaining against the Mír and that the Mír too had sent his envoys to represent and defend his cause. Abdunnabí's cause was espoused by Mahfúz Khán, who constantly recommended him to the king for favour. Meanwhile the Mír's envoys submitted a petition to the king on behalf of their master, describing in details the mischievous conduct of Abdunnabí in very pathetic terms.

---

* The author of the Frerenámah says that the fort of Haidarábád was then in the hands of Mián Abdunnabí's mother, assisted by Ghulám Haidar Mirnání, one of Abdunnabí's chief servants and Shálmín an Abyssinian slave. In fact the families of the Kalhórah chiefs lived here. When Ghulám Haidar heard of Hájí Ahmad's arrival he set fire to the magazines. The shock of the explosion caused a breach in the walls of the fort. The Balóches entered and took the fort. The families of the Kalhórahs were sent along with Shálmín to Jódhpur, at which place Mián Abdunnabí's son lived. This event occurred in 1198 A.H. (1784 A.D.)

"How long" wrote Mír Fateh Alí Khán in his letter, "May I trouble your majesty with the enumeration of his cruelties. He murdered my uncle, who had always served him faithfully. He murdered my dear relations Abdulláh and Fateh Khán in cold blood. He wrote one thing on the Korán and did another. He paid no reverence to the word of God. Then, what did he not do to his own relations, young and old, who all died cruel deaths at his treacherous hands. All these men have gone to the august court of God with complaints against him and will surely find justice there. Such a person is unworthy of your majesty's favour and help."

The above letter had the desired effect as it moved the king in favour of the Mír. The envoys, at the same time, succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of some of the influential courtiers, who now and then began to speak highly of the Mír. In the conversation that ensued in the court on the subject in question, the Mír's envoys showed great cleverness in proving Abdunnabí to be a villain of the deepest dye. The result was that the king issued an order to the effect that the province of Sind be divided into two halves, one-half going to Abdunnabí and the other half to Mír Fateh Alí Khán. An officer was appointed to go as an arbitrator and divide the country, and a force under the command of Bóstán Khán and Ikhlás Khán was directed to accompany Abdunnabí to reinstate him in his portion of the country. This was done, because Abdunnabí feigned fear of the Balóches, who, said he, were numerous and might cause trouble.

The Mír's envoys duly communicated to the Mír the king's decision, and not being quite satisfied with it, they stayed behind to make a further attempt in favour of their master, their object being to secure for him a *sanad* for the whole country, to the rejection of Abdunnabí's claims.

The Mir moves with an army to meet the royal forces bringing Abdunnabí.

When Mír Fateh Alí Khán got the news, he marched with 40,000 Balóches to Lóhrí in order to meet the royal forces coming with Mián Abdunnabí. The latter hearing of the approach of the Mír, thought it proper to halt and inform the king about it. Meanwhile the Mír's envoys

at the court had succeeded in their attempt and had a *sanad* issued in favour of the Mír as against the Mián, and an order to Abdunnabí and the two generals to turn back to the king's camp. The Mír's envoys were given robes of honour and were sent back with presents. They immediately wrote to the Mír preventing him from sending the army across the river and informing him that their object was gained.

The return of the royal force and the death of Mahfúz Khán.

Soon the king's order was received by his generals and they turned back with Abdunnabí whose despair and chagrin might well be imagined. His patron Mahfúz Khán tried to console him and promised to get him an estate in the district of the Deráhs for his maintenance from the king. But unfortunately for Abdunnabí before the Khán had travelled over two stages, he fell ill and died. This event further disconcerted Abdunnabí, who now lost all hopes of getting Sind back or any landed estates. He was therefore compelled to accept retirement with dignity.*

Mír Fateh Alí Khán is appointed the ruler of Sind.

The Mír's envoys soon arrived bringing with them the *sanad* of his appointment as ruler of the whole of Sind, together with the royal presents consisting of a robe of honour and some Arab horses. Mír Fateh Alí Khán putting on the robe took his seat on the *masnad* amid loud acclamations of joy and congratulations from the Balóches.

CHAPTER XIV.†

The rule of Mír Fateh Alí Khán.

The king again sends a force to reinstate Abdunnabí.

After a time, some of the Balóch chiefs severed their connection with Mír Fateh Alí Khán for certain reasons and retired from public service. When Abdunnabí, who was living on pension, heard of this, he sent a person

---

* This event occurred in the year 1197 A.H. (1783 A.D.) (Frerenámah.)

† From here the account is taken from the Frerenamáh as the Fatehnámah ends here.

with his petition to king Taimúr Sháh. The latter was at Jalálábád then. The Mían stated in the petition that disagreement had broken out between Mír Fateh Alí Khán and the Balóch chiefs; that Mír Suhráb had written to him calling him and promising to join him; and that if his majesty would assist him at such a juncture, he would get back his heriditary right and pray for his kindness. The king felt compassion for him. He ordered an army to go under the command of Ahmad Khán Núrzáí and Bóstán Khán to reinstate Abdunnabí. At the same time an order was sent to Muhammad Nasír, the Bróhí ruler of Kalát, to despatch a force to join Abdunnabí and Bóstán Khán. Accordingly that chief sent a force under a grandson of his, who joined the royal column at Derah Ghází Khán. The joint forces then crossed the river and came to the country of Muhammad Baháwal Khán Dáúdpótah. The latter, out of fear, fled to the sandy desert. The forces thence proceeded to Sind, plundering the country along the march.

Mír Fateh Alí Khán advances with an army and defeats the royal force.

Mír Fateh Alí Khán, though very anxious to check the attacking forces, did not like to infringe the rules of etiquette by opposing the sovereign power. He therefore sent Sayyed (A'ghá) Ibráhím Sháh as an envoy to the king, to request that as he had been regularly paying his annual tribute and sending other presents, his majesty might not be so unkind towards him.

Soon information was received that the enemy had arrived on the borders of Sind. The Mír immediately ordered the collection of forces, which work was entrusted to Mír Ghulám Alí Khán. Meanwhile at the suggestion of Bághah Fakír, he ordered that the families and children of Balóches be taken to Kachh and Jesalmer, so that they should be safe from the assaults of the enemy. Ahmad Khán Núrzáí had now advanced as far as Lóhrí. At this juncture Mír Suhráb Khán wrote on a blank page of the Korán, calling on Mír Fateh Alí Khán to come with his army to fight against the enemy and assuring him solemnly that he was ready to join him. Accordingly the Mír started with his army to meet the enemy. He destroyed the bridges made for the enemy's army to cross the river. When he arrived within two stages

of the enemy. Mír Suhráb sent some excuses for not joining the Mír, and forgetting the solemn promises made on the Korán, left for Sháhgarh. He locked himself up in the fort and waited there to see what the result of the engagement would be. The Mír had now no help but to proceed against the enemy alone. He had 2,000 men to fight against 40,000 Afgháns. There was a big canal flowing between them, the water in which was very deep. The Afgháns were in possession of it. When Mír Fateh Alí Khán arrived on this side of the canal, he commenced firing guns at the enemy, who readily responded. Amidst this fire the Mír ordered his horsemen to plunge into water and swim across the canal. They then fell on the enemy, sword in hand. A bloody battle ensued.* Bostán Khán and the Bróhí chief, the son of Zarak,* were killed and Ahmad Khán Núrzáí was put to flight. Retreating about 6 miles, Abdunnabí advised Ahmad Khán to make a halt there in order to be able to make a sudden nocturnal attack on the Balóches. But Ahmad Khán had already lost heart and seeing a detachment still pursuing him, he lost all hopes of escape even. He was therefore obliged to sue for protection to the Mír, who called back his detachment. This event occurred in 1202 A.H. (1787 A.D.).

King Taimúr Sháh himself marches against the Mír, but he returns from Baháwalpur.

When king Taimúr Sháh heard of Ahmad Khán's defeat he was very angry. Immediately, he started with a large army for Sind. At Kandhár he was joined by Prince Mahmúd Khán. He then proceeded straight against Shikárpur. The men had to suffer much in the way for want of water. At Multán, Muhammad Nasír Khán Bróhí joined his camp. Next, the king encamped in the territory of Muhammad Baháwal Dáúdpótah, who had already fled in the desert out of fear.

Mír Fateh Alí Khán hearing of the approach of the king wrote a petition to him giving an explanation of his conduct in reference to his fight with Ahmad Khán. "I tried my best" said he, "to avoid fighting, but Ahmad Khán would have nothing but war. I was therefore obliged to take the defensive. Unfortunately the Khán was defeated. If I

* Zarak was son-in-law to Nasír Khán Bróhí and so his son was the Khán's grandson, who had come in command of his forces.

had not checked my Balóches, none of the Afgháns with him would have returned safely." When the king got this letter, he held a council. Most of the councillors were of opinion that it would be impossible to administer the country of Sind through some Afghán Chief or any other person and that Mír Fateh Alí Khan was a fit person for the post. About the same time the king received a letter from princes Zamán Khán and Ayyúb Khán at Kábul informing him that Sháh Murád Khán, the Súbahdár of Balkh, had raised the standard of revolt and was marching against Kábul with an army of Turcomans and other tribes. At such a juncture, therefore, the king had no alternative but to march back to Kábul.

The Mír returns to Haidarábád which is made the Capital.

When Mír Fateh Alí Khán heard of the king's return to Kábul, he returned to Haidarábád, where he arrived in 11 days. At the same time he wrote to his brothers Mír Karam Alí Khan and Mír Murad Alí Khán, who had gone to Thar with their families, to come back to Haidarábád. These events occurred in the year 1204 A.H. (1789 A.D.). In the same year two forts were built in Thar, *viz.*, Fatehgarh and Islámgarh,* that were 80 miles apart. The Rájahs of the neighbouring States objected, but the Mír paid no regard to their objections.

The town of Haidarábád was now selected by the Mír to be his future capital. Accordingly he built some houses in the fort for himself and his brothers and removed from Khudábád to that place. Some mosques were built, namely, those known by the names of Mulla Rahmatulláh's mosque, Tálibsháh's mosque (which is near the fort gate and had originally been built by Mian Ghulámsháh) and Máí Khairí's† mosque. All these buildings were built in the course of 9 months.

Another royal force is sent to Sind but peace is made and the Mír is again confirmed as the ruler.

Next year 1205 A. H. (1790 A. D.) Taimúr Sháh after quenching the rebellion in Balkh and chastising the ringleaders, again sent an army to Sind under the command of Páindah Khán, who came to Shikárpur by ordinary marches. Mír Fateh Alí Khán

* This is now called Islámkót. In fact *garh* and *kót* mean the same thing, *viz.*, a fort.

† Bíbí Khairí was the mother of Mír Fateh Alí Khán. The mosque is still well known.

advanced to meet him. Arriving near the place, he made a halt in order to know the feelings of the General of the royal forces. The latter, who had been already instructed to try to settle the matter without bloodshed, sent some envoys to treat for peace which the Mír was already anxious to secure. After some discussion it was settled that the Mírs should in future give as much tribute to the King as the Kalhórahs used to pay to the late King Ahmadsháh. The treaty was drawn up and signed. Páindah Khán presented a dress of honour, an elephant with a *howdah* and a sword set with jewels, to the Mír, on behalf of the king and gave him a fresh *sanad* with the signature and seal of the king, confirming him as the ruler of Sind. To acknowledge this favour, Mír Fateh Alí Khán sent his envoy, Díwán Jaspatrái* with rich presents to Kábul. On his return, the Mír put on the dress of honour and riding the elephant came to Haidarábád, with the pomp and glory of a ruler. This happened in the year 1207 A.H. (1792 A.D.).

The Division of Kúrs is acquired by the Mír.

It has been mentioned before, that Zarak Khán, son-in-law to Muhammad Nasír, the Khán of Kalát was killed, while fighting for Abdunnabí with the Mír. As a compensation for that loss, Abdunnabí had ceded the tract of country watered by Kúrs or streams of rain water to the Khán.† Now that the Mír had become the sole ruler of Sind, he wanted to have back that division. Before taking it by force of arms, he was advised by his brother Mír Ghulám Alí Khán to apply for it to the king by giving some plausible reason. This was done and the king ordered the Khán of Kalát to return that part of country to the Mír. The Khán raised some objections and made some excuses, but he was after all obliged to comply with the king's mandate. The division was accordingly taken back about the close of the above year.

Death of Taimúr Sháh and the division of Sind among different Mírs.

Next year 1208 A.H. (1793 A.D.) Taimúr Sháh died and was succeeded by his third son Zamán Sháh. According to the old custom, the new king sent a dress of honour to Mír Fateh Alí Khán with a fresh *sanad* con-

* He was Díwán Gidúmal's younger brother.

† This was Karáchí, according to the *Sind Gazetteer*.

firming the former one. After that, Mír Fateh Alí Khan had no occasion to go out and therefore remained in his capital. He divided the country of Sind into seven shares. He retained three shares for himself, gave two shares to Mír Suhráb Khán,* one share he reserved for his own relations and one he gave to Mír Thárah Khán, Mír Mahmúd Khán, Mír Ghulám Husain Khán, Mír Bahrám Khán, and other Tálpurs.† Similarly Balóches and tribesmen were divided into 3 parties for the 3 sets of Mírs, who began to live independently in their own divisions of country. Mír Thárah gave a part of his share to Mír Fateh Alí Khán for the contribution of the annual tribute to be given to the king, but Mír Suhráb Khán wanted to have direct connection with the sovereign power by paying his share of tribute directly. In this way seven years passed away peacefully.

Death of Mir Fateh Alí Khán.

In 1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.) about the close of Zulhajj Mír Fateh Alí Khán fell ill with a carbuncle. Seeing his end near, he made his will, appointing his brother Mír Ghulám Alí in his own place. After 5 or 6 days he expired on the 10th of Muharram 1217 A.H (1802 A.D.). His body was taken to Khudábád and buried there in order that his bones might rest with those of his grand relations.‡

---

* The ancestor of the Mírs of Khairpur who are called Suhrábánís.

† Thárah Khán was the son of Mír Fateh Khán. Mahmúd Khán was uncle to Mír Fateh Alí Khán, and Ghulám Husain and Bahrám were sons of Mír Abdulláh. The first is the ancestor of the Manikání Mírs of Mírpur, the second of the Mahmúdání Mírs and the third of the Bijrání Mírs near Haidarábád.

‡ It was in this reign in 1799 A.D., that a commercial mission was opened up by the British with Sind, and "a Mr. Nathan Crowe of the Bombay Civil Service was sent to Sind to conduct the mercantile and political interests of the British Government with the Talpur Mirs, but, like the former attempt, it ended in an unsatisfactory manner. The British Agent resided at times at Tatta, Shahbunder and Karachi, where he had to endure various petty indignities till at last he received a peremptory order from the Mirs to quit the country within ten days, and this he thought it best to obey."—*Sind Gazetteer.*

CHAPTER XV.

The rule of Mír Ghulám Alí Khán.

Battle with Mír Thárah Khán at Mírpúr.

The coronation ceremony of Mír Ghulám Alí Khán took place on the 16th of Muharram 1217 A.H. (1802 A.D.). It is said that on the day of Mír Fateh Alí Khán's death, a son was born to him, who was called Sóbdár Khán.* Balóch chiefs of different places came to the capital to condole with Mír Ghulám Alí Khán on the death of the late Mír and to congratulate him on his becoming ruler and being blessed with a nephew. Mír Suhráb Khán came for the same purpose and was received well by the Mír, but Mír Thárah Khán, who lived at his own town of Mírpur and had been dissatisfied with some of the Mír's arrangements, did not come to visit him on such an occasion. He entertained certain vain thoughts and sought an excuse to openly fall out with the Mír. This he soon got.

One day a villager belonging to Mír Thárah's division stole some melons from the field of another villager belonging to Mír Ghulám Alí Khán's division. The thief was taken to the Mír's Kárdár, who kept him in confinement by way of punishment. The Kárdár of Mír Thárah, coming to know of this, came with a number of people and by force released the man. In the riot that ensued two or three men of both the sides lost their lives. The matter coming to the notice of Mír Thárah Khán, he assembled his forces to wage war with the Mír. Mír Ghulám Alí Khán, not being disposed to fight with a relation, tried to pacify him with words. But Mír Thárah would not be pacified. At last Mír Ghulám Alí Khán was obliged to send his uncle Mír Mahmúd Khán with an army and some guns to Mírpur. At the Tandrah† of Nindah the two armies met. Mír Thárah Khán had dug a ditch round his camp and placed guns there to repel the enemy. Mír Ghulám Alí Khán divided his army into two columns, one he kept under his own command and another he gave to Táhar Khizmatgár, a

* Further on it is said that the child was born the day after his death.

† Pronounced Tandó in Sindhí, meaning a village.

servant of his. The action began with a cannonade, then followed musketry firing, and lastly swords were drawn by the combatants. A bloody battle was fought, in which many lives were lost on both sides. Mír Thárah Khán was at last wounded and taken prisoner. He was taken in a litter with appropriate respect, to Haidarábád. In this battle 410 men of Mír Ghulám Alí's army and 300 of Mír Thárah's were killed. Mír Thárah was well received and treated kindly by Mír Ghulám Alí Khán. After he was quite cured, he was sent back to Mírpur with some elephants, horses and other presents. This event occurred in the year 1218 A.H. (1803 A.D.).

King Zamán Sháh succeeded by Shujául Mulk.

About the close of the same year, Shujául Mulk succeeded his brother Zamán Sháh on the throne of Kábul. As Zamán Sháh had proved himself a cruel person, his wazír, Fateh Khán left him and went to Kandáhár, where he instigated prince Mahmúd Khán to claim the throne as a right and promised to espouse his cause. Previous to this, Fateh Alí Sháh Kajár, the king of Persia, had defeated Zamán Sháh and taken him prisoner, at the same time torturing him by passing a red hot iron wire through his eyes. On receiving the news, the chiefs of the State raised Shujául Mulk to the throne. This event occurred in the year 1215 A.H. (1800 A.D).

Shujául Mulk invades Sind, but returns after taking indemnity and tribute.

In 1218 A. H. (1803 A. D.) Shujául Mulk invaded Sind, with a large army. The people of the province were so frightened that most of them deserted their towns and villages fleeing to the sandy desert of Thar. Mír Ghulám Alí Khán taking an army with him marched to Shikárpur to face the enemy, having left his brother Mír Murád Alí Khán in his own place at Haidarábád. Arriving at Ládkánah he was met by Mír Suhráb Khán. After some consultation, they sent envoys to the king's wazír Háfiz Sher Muhammad Khán, requesting him to settle the matter amicably. Accordingly it was arranged that the Mírs should pay ten *laks* of rupees there and then, and promise to pay 5 *laks* as a tribute every year regularly. The terms were accepted and the king marched back to Kábul. The Mír then returned to Haidarábád.

Treaty and matrimonial connection with the Khán of Kalát.

About this time Muhammad Nasír Khán, the Khán of Kalát died. His sister Mái Zainab put her nephew Mahmúd Khán on the vacant seat of rulership. Though there had been disagreement between the Mírs and the late Khán, Mír Ghulám Alí Khán thought it advisable to renew the old friendship with the new Khán. With that object in view he sent envoys to condole with the Khán's sister and her nephew on their recent bereavement and to moot the matter of renewing the friendship. Soon a treaty was made and signed by both parties, who promised to remain friends in future and never to transgress the boundaries then existing between their territories. At the same time, a matrimonial arrangement was made by which Mái Zainab gave the hand of her niece to Mír Ghulám Alí Khán. Preparations for the marriage were accordingly made. Mai Zainab came to Bhágnárí where Mír Ghulám Alí Khán also came with his relations and kinsmen. More than 40,000 men met on the occasion and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. After 3 days Mír Ghulám Alí Khán started for Haidarábád with his bride and attendants.

The Mir's army invades the Bahawalpur territory, but a treaty is made.

Shortly after this, Sayyed Zulfikár Sháh, one of the respectable Sayyeds of Uch, being ill-treated by Muhammad Sádik Khán, the chief of the Daúdpótahs, brought a complaint to the Mír. The latter wrote a letter of advice to the Khán recommending the Sayyed to him. But Muhammad Sádik Khán instead of showing kindness began to harass and annoy the Sayyeds of Uch all the more. This angered Mír Ghulám Alí Khan, who sent Táhar Khizmatgár and other headmen, to invade the Bahawalpur territory and to chastise the ruler of the place. When this army arrived in the said territory, they took possession of several places after some fighting. Muhammad Sádik Khán was at last obliged to sue for peace, which was granted. It was settled that the land granted in charity to the Sayyeds of Uch by the elders of the Khán, should remain in their possession, that the district of Sabzalgarh * be ceded to the Mír and that the Khán's son Bahawal Khán be given up as a hostage, pending the

* Also called Sabzalkót.

carrying out of the terms of the peace. Accordingly Tâhar with his own forces and the hostage, returned to Haidarábád. When he reached Kashmór, which formed the boundary of Sind, he sailed by boat for Haidarábád and dismissed the Balóches who had been with him. In 3 days he arrived at the Tandah* of Háji Mír Khán and halted there, having informed the Mír beforehand. The latter sent his son Mír Muhammad Khán to receive the Dáúdpótah prince and to escort him to the fort of Haidarábád. The Mír treated Bahâwal Khán very kindly, and after keeping him for some time allowed him to depart to his native country. The district of Sabzalgarh was annexed to Sind and thenceforth remained under the rule of the Mírs.

Famine in Kachh and Sind and the Mír's generosity in that respect.

In the same year, a famine occurred in Kachh to such an extent that the people of the country flocked to Sind in large numbers, selling their children for Rs. 3 or 4 per child. Corn became a great scarcity in Sind, *jwárí* and *bájrí* selling for 6 seers per kórah rupee.† Mír Ghulam Alí Khán distributed heaps of corn in charity among the poor and famine-stricken people. After some time, when the famine had subsided, the Kachhís returned to their native country. Rái Bhárah, the Ráo of Kachh, hearing of the miseries of his people, wrote a friendly letter to the Mír requesting that the children sold and purchased in Sind be returned to him. Accordingly the Mír ordered Fakírah Khizmatgár‡, his chief minister, to collect such children from all the Balóch chiefs and ordinary people, who had purchased them, on payment, from the Mír's treasury, of the prices paid by them. They were then sent to Bhuj with some trustworthy men of the Mír, through the British Resident. For this act of grace and mercy the Ráo of Kachh as well as the British Government were very much pleased with the Mír and felt grateful to him.

---

* Tandah, Tandrah or Tando is a village.

† In Sind rupees coined by Taimúr Shah were then in use. The Mír's used kórah rupees, one of which was worth 10 annas or $\frac{5}{8}$th of the Queen's rupee.

‡ Fakire-jo-Pir is still well known in the town of Hai laráhád and some of Fakiro's grand-children are still living.

Death of Mír Ghulám Alí Khán.

After two years of peaceful reign had elapsed, Mír Ghulám Alí Khán happened one day to go on a shooting excursion. He shot a deer, which he began to slay. In the act of slaying it, the deer moved its head, and the point of its horn grazed the back of the Mír's foot causing a wound, which bled profusely. The physicians of Sind tried their best to stop the bleeding by applying acids, which caused a great deal of swelling and pain. Ultimately the wound proved fatal and Mír Ghulám Alí Khán died on the 6th of Jamádissání 1227 A.H. (1811 A.D.)*

CHAPTER XVI.

The Rule of Mír Karam Alí Khán.

Encouragement of art, science and trade.

Though Mír Ghulám Alí Khán had a son, *viz.*, Mír Mír Muhammad, on whose head his father's turban was placed, his brother Mír Karam Alí Khán, became the ruler of Sind. His coronation ceremony was performed after 7 days of mourning on account of the late Mír's death. The Mír carried on the administration of Sind in consultation with his younger brother Mír Murad Alí Khán. In fact since the time of Mír Fateh Alí Khán the four brothers had lived together so affectionately and ruled the country with one another's advice so wisely, that they were termed "The four friends."

Mír Karam Alí Khán was a very just and wise ruler. His reign was a peaceful reign in which no war took place. Consequently he had ample time to devote to the promotion of art and science and to the encouragement of commerce. Being a literary man himself, his court was crowded with poets and learned men. He contracted friendship with Fateh Alí Sháh Kájár, the then king of

---

* It was in this reign in 1809 that "A treaty of friendship was entered into between the Sindian and British Governments, more, it would seem, to prevent Frenchmen from settling in Sind than with any other object."—*Sind Gazetteer*. (See the 3rd para: of the next chapter and extract No. 1 in Appendix I).

Persia, and consequently envoys used to come and go between the two rulers, exchanging presents. As the Mír was fond of swords, rich and beautiful swords were imported from different countries* and many good sword-makers, as well as good writers, painters, besides men of art and science, came from Persia and Khurásán to live in the town of Haidarábád.

Some note-worthy persons of this reign.

In the reign of Mír Karam Alí Khán two men became celebrated in Sind. The first was Sayyed Muhammad Ráshid Sháh who was a well known saint and spiritual guide,† and the other was Sábit Alí, who was a Sindí poet.‡ The latter wrote a number of elegies describing the martyrdom of the Imáms or grandsons of the prophet, under the orders of Yazíd.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter the Mír's envoys used to go to Persia with presents for the king of that country. A few years before this time, war had been going on between Russia and Persia about the province of Georgia, the Governor of which Heracleus had shaken off the yoke of Persia and had since been defeated and put to flight. Heracleus' son Gurgín Khán was then assisted by Paul, the then Czar of Russia, against the invasion of Muhammad Khán, king of Persia. Some bloody battles were fought, after which Georgia passed out of Persia's hands and became a dependency of Russia.

In the above wars several Georgian children had been seized by the Persian invaders and sold in the Bazárs of Isphán, the capital of Persia. Among these were Mirzá

---

* "The Ameers have agents in Persia, Turkey and Palestine, for the purchase of swords and gun-barrels and they possess a more valuable collection of these articles than is probably to be met with in any other part of the world. I have had in my hand a plain unornamented blade which has cost them half a *lakh* of rupees." Burnes' *Visit to the Court of Sind* (1839).

† He was the great-grandfather of the Pir of Kingri, in the Róhrí Taluka. Hurs or Lurs are his *murids* or followers.

‡ The works of this poet have not yet been published completely. His grandson, bearing the same name is still living at Haidarábád. The poet was buried at Sehwán, where his tomb can still be seen. Some of his elegies and satires are excellent. (See his biographical sketch in Appendix III).

Khusróbeg, Mirzá Fredúnbeg, Mirzá Muhammad Bákar and a few others, who were brought by the Mír's envoys from Persia to Sind. Mír Karam Alí Khán had no issue, though he had four *harams* (wives). So he became very fond of Mirzá Khusróbeg, who was the first Georgian brought to him and who was the son of a Georgian chief, who had fought in the late wars in the cause of his country. The Mír looked upon him as an adopted son and treated him accordingly. He was naturally an intelligent person and soon rose to be an influential courtier and minister. The other Georgian, Mirzá Fredúnbeg, who came later, was equally treated kindly and was attached to Mirzá Khusróbeg, both of whom thenceforth lived together as relations and members of one family.* The third Georgian Mirzá Bákarbeg was retained by Mír Murád Alí Khán. Many other foreigners came voluntarily from different places about this time and became permanent residents at Haidarábád, as already mentioned.

A commercial treaty with the British Government.

Mír Karam Alí Khán was the first ruler of Sind who contracted friendship with the British Government † It was in his reign that Major Skeene came from Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay, as an envoy, with some rare presents for the Mír and his brother. The Major was to come from Kachh, and the Mír sent a number of officers to receive him at the boundary of Sind and to escort him to the capital. The envoy was received by the two brothers in open court and was shown great kindness. After some interesting conversation, the Mírs retired to their residence in the Tandáh of Nawáb Walí Muhammad. After two or three days the British envoy again got an audience and a commercial treaty was drawn up, signed and sealed by the Mírs. There were three conditions in it, *viz* :—

1. That no European should employ any native in his service.
2. That the officer coming to take the survey of the river Indus, should not be prohibited from or hindered in doing his work.

---

* About Mirzá Khusróbeg, see extracts 22 and 33 from the Blue Book, &c., in Appendix I. A sketch of his life is also appended, as also a sketch of Mirzá Fredúnbeg's life, as published by their children (see Appendix III.)

† Vide extract (1) in Appendix I.

3. That any person coming through Kachh, with articles of trade, bearing a pass from the Governor of Bombay, should be free from any tax or toll.

After the treaty was signed Major Skeene returned to Kachh.

After this treaty free communication commenced between Sind and Bombay. Before this time the people of Sind going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, were greatly troubled by the Portuguese, and therefore merchants were afraid of trading with Bombay and other ports. But now it was widely proclaimed that traders could safely visit Bombay and other places by sea. The result was that commerce was greatly encouraged and foreign articles began to be sold in the bazárs of Sind.*

Shujául Mulk comes to Sind, but is driven away by the arrival of King Ayyúb Sháh.

In 1230 A. H. (1814 A. D.) Sháh Shujá being defeated by Muhammad Azím Khán came to Haidarábád. It may be mentioned here that when Muhammad Sháh with the assistance of Fateh Alí Sháh, king of Persia, took his step-brother, Zamán Sháh prisoner and blinded him, the chiefs of Kábul raised the blinded prince's brother Shujául Mulk to the throne. But he was soon removed and Ayyúb Sháh placed on the throne to represent the dynasty of Ahmad Sháh Duráni. This prince too proved a failure like his predecessor. Mahmúd Sháh being afraid of Azím Khán went to Herát and settled there. Sháh Shujá who entertained great fear of Azim Khán and other Afghán chiefs fled to Jalálábád, and thence to Sind. He came so secretly to the town of Haidarabád that no one knew about him. He put up at a place near the Tandah of Aghá Ibráhím Sháh on the bank of the Phulelí, the big canal flowing to the east of Haidarábád. When Alí Baksh son of Fakírah Khizmatgár, who was the Kótwál of the town, informed the Mírs of the *ex*-King's arrival, the latter sent some tents and *kanáts* and provisions to him. After two or three days, the Mírs paid him a visit and did their best to console the deposed king and to keep him comfortable. An army was soon collected that escorted him to Shikárpur.

---

* *Vide* extract (2) in Appendix I.

When Muhammad Azím Khán heard this, he instigated Ayyúb Sháh to march with an army to Sind to fight with the Mírs, and frighten away Sháh Shujá. The two armies met at Shikárpur, but soon a treaty was made by which the Mírs promised to pay 12 *laks* of rupees as indemnity to Ayyúb Sháh, acknowledge his superiority, use his coin, and give up the cause of Shujául Mulk. Sháh Shujá hearing of this, decamped quietly during the night and went to Ludhiáná. The next day the Mírs held an interview with Muhammad Azím Khán and then started for Haidarábád, the Afghán prince returning to his capital.

Preparation to meet Rájah Ranjít Sing of the Panjáb at Shikárpur.

In 1233 A.H. (1817 A.D.) information was received that Rájáh Ranjít Sing, the ruler of the Panjáb had taken Mithan Kót and intended to invade Sind and that he had already sent his grandson Niháising with a large army and artillery. The Mírs consulted among themselves and with the Balóch chiefs and resolved to oppose the Sikhs beyond Shikárpur. With that object in view Mír Karam Alí Khán issued orders to all the tribes of Balóches and Siráis to collect at Haidarábád. But Mír Murád Alí Khán's plan was different. He said to his brother that it was impossible to fight with a person like Ranjít Sing, who had conquered the whole country from Pesháwar and Kashmír to Karnál and had taken Multán, Mithan Kót and Derahs, that had been in the possession of the brave Afgháns. He therefore suggested that assistance be sought from the British Government, who were on very friendly terms with them. After some discussion, the plan was considered to be the best and the most expedient. Accordingly a letter was written to that effect to Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay. Sayyed (A'ghá) Ismáíl Sháh, the son of Sayyed Ibráhim Sháh was sent as an ambassador to Bombay to arrange for the succour.* After the departure of the Sayyed the Mírs taking about 30,000 men with them together with some guns and war engines, started to defend the borders of their country. Coming to Khairpur they were joined by Mír Suhráb Khán with his forces. And the whole army now proceeded to Shikárpur.

* This Sayyed is mentioned often, in the following pages as an envoy. See extracts (7) and (33) from the Blue Book, &c., in Appendix I. and the geneological tree in Appendix II.

Meanwhile Sayyed Ismáíl Sháh, had arrived at Bombay. Sir John Malcolm had gone home and had been succeeded by Lord Elphinstone. The Sayyed was received well by the Governor and was allowed 30 rupees for his daily allowance. After their interview the Governor sent the Mír's letter, with his recommendation to the Governor General at Calcutta. The latter wrote a letter to Rájah Ranjít Sing telling him that the Mírs were on friendly terms with the British Government with whom they had made a treaty and that he must not think of going to Sind or else they would be obliged to take the Mírs' side. The Rájah sent a reply that he had no intention of going to Sind or fighting with the Mírs, whom he considered to be his friends and that his grandson Nihálsing had gone on a pleasure trip to Multán, Mithan Kót and Derahs to spend Dasahrah holidays there. At the same time, he wrote a friendly letter to the Mírs and sent it through Sáwanmal, the Governor of Multán. The Mírs were very much pleased to get this letter, and being quite at ease now, returned to Haidarábád.*

Dr. Burnes comes from Bombay to treat Mír Murád Alí Khán.

In 1240 A. H. (1824 A. D.) Mír Murád Alí Khán fell ill with a carbuncle. The physicians of Sind tried their best to cure it, but without success. The Mír remained confined to bed for a very long time. The two brothers then wrote a letter to Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, to send an English doctor to them. Dr. James Burnes was accordingly sent to Haidarábád. On his arrival the Mírs showed a great deal of kindness. The doctor too showed very great cleverness in his art, for in about 20 days, Mír Murád Alí Khán got better and in a month and a half no sign of the disease remained. The doctor was given a good many presents and sent back to Bombay

* In a letter written by the Governor General to the Secret Committee on 28th November 1836, as given in the Blue Book, it is said that "The payment of a tribute of 12 *laks* of rupees was demanded by the Maharajah from the Ameers. A force was sent in advance, which captured Rójhan, the chief town of the Mazarees and carried by assault a fort garrisoned by the troops of the Ameers in the neighbourhood of the rich commercial town of Shikárpur and preparations were in progress for opening the campaign on a more extensive scale at the commencement of the cold season." The negotiations with the Maharajah were carried on through Captain Wade, the British Resident at Ludhiána.

viá Kachh. A party of Balóches headed by a few nobles was sent as an escort with the doctor, to go up to the boundary of Sind. When the doctor arrived at Bhuj, he spoke very highly of the Mírs to Major Pottinger, the then Resident of Kachh, who was induced to write a letter to the Mírs, and thenceforth the Mírs remained on friendly terms with that officer.

Revolt caused by Mír Fateh Alí Khán's son Mír Sóbdár Khán.

In 1242 A. H. (1826 A. D.) the late Mír Fateh Alí Khán's son Mír Sóbdár Khán, began to be troublesome to the two ruling Mírs, his uncles, claiming his hereditary share of his father's country. As has been noted above, Mír Sóbdár Khán was born on the day of his father's death and since then he and the late Mír's three *harams* had been maintained by Mír Ghulám Alí Khán. On Mír Ghulám Alí Khán's death, his son Mír Mír Muhammad Khán was nominally made the successor of his father and given some *parganahs* as a *jágir*, by which arrangement he used to live like a prince. When Mír Sóbdár Khán reached the age of 25 years, he requested his uncles to give him an independent means of livelihood like that of Mír Mír Muhammad Khán. He also demanded a share in inheritance of his father's valuables and lands. Mír Karam Alí Khán was willing to comply with his request and to satisfy his demand, but Mír Murád Alí Khán would not join him in that arrangement and so they rejected their nephew's request. After some days Mír Sóbdár Khán went to Lar (Lower Sind) on the pretext of *shikáring*. He was joined by Ghulám Alí Khán Tálpur, son of Feróz Khán, the father of Khán Muhammad Khán, residing at Ren, and some other Balóch chiefs. Mír Sóbdár Khán had no money with him. He was therefore obliged to sell the few jewels and valuable weapons he had in his possession, through his *Díwán* Munshi Partábrái and his chief adviser, Hósh Muhammad Habshí (Abyssinian) and maintain his retinue, which went on increasing. He now openly raised the standard of revolt. Mír Murád Alí Khán, hearing of this, prepared to put down the revolt. Taking an army of 800 men, he left the fort to meet his nephew. As he began to shower money on his dependents and sepoys, the Balóches enlisted by Mír Sóbdár Khán deserted him and went over to Mír Murád Alí Khán. So that in one day and night, the

number of Mír Sóbdár's men decreased from about 8000 to 1200. Mír Sóbdar had now no alternative but to entreat Mír Karam Alí Khán to interfere and settle the matter amicably. The Mír accordingly brought about reconciliation between the uncle and the nephew. At the same time the young Mír was granted an allowance similar to that, which had been granted to Mír Mír Muhammad Khán. He was also given a similar share of his father's property.

Death of Mír Karam Alí Khán.

A few days after this Mír Karam Alí Khán fell ill and remained confined to bed for a long time. At last he expired in 1244 A.H. (1828 A.D.*) His body was buried on a hill to the north of Haidarábád. He was the first Tálpur, who was buried at Haidarábád.† Before this any Tálpur dying, was removed to Khudábád and buried there.

It was in the reign of Mír Karam Alí Khán that a terrible inundation of the river Indus occurred submerging large tracts of lands and villages, and it was in his predecessor's time that snow had fallen in Sind.

CHAPTER XVII.

The rule of Mír Murád Alí Khán.

Friendship with other States.

Mír Murád Alí Khán occupied the seat of rulership vacated by his brother, on the 16th of Jamádíssáni 1244 A.H. (1828 A.D.) As Mír Karam Alí Khán had died without any issue, his treasure and armoury and other valuables came into the possession of Mír Murád Alí

---

* About the character of Mír Karam Alí Khán see (extract 28) in Appendix I.

† "The tombs of the deceased members of the reigning family are grouped at a distance from those of the Caloras. The only handsome one of the Tálpurs is that of Mír Karam Alí; display characterized this prince in life, and he has carried his love of pomp to the grave. The edifice is chaste and handsome,—its figure a square, capped with a fine cupola—and the heaviness of the whole is much relieved by a tower in each angle."—M.S. Journal of Lieut. Wood, I.N. (1835-36.)

Khán. This Mír behaved so wisely and justly that all the Mírs of Khairpur and Mírpur and other Balóch chiefs remained attached to him by ties of affection. His reign was a peaceful reign, in which cultivators and traders lived very happily. At Kábul there was anarchy about this time and so, in fact, the Mír had become an independent ruler. His friendship with Fateh Alí Sháh, the king of Persia, grew to intimacy, so much so that the king was inclined to give a daughter of his to the Mír in marriage, but the latter declined the honour gracefully owing to the long distance and his old age. The friendship with the Governor of Bombay continued as before and the envoys used to come and go regularly. Major Pottinger, the Political Resident of Kachh, paid him a visit and was very much pleased with the reception given to him.* Similarly, envoys from the courts of Rájah Ranjít Sing, the Rájah of Jesalmer and the Ráo of Kachh and from the Imám of Mascat and the Sharíf of Meccá commenced visiting Haidarábád. In his time, Shujául Mulk once more came to Sind as a refugee and the Mír allotted the town of Shikárpur with its revenue to him for his temporary maintenance.

A mint established at Haidarábád.

Being now independent, the Mír for the first time struck coin in his own name. A mint was established under the superintendence of a skilful iron-smith by name Fateh Muhammad. The work commenced experimentally and 40 or 50 *ashrafis* (gold coins) were also struck. The Mír then ordered that all the gold in the treasury be given into the mint to be made into *mohars*. But before that work was finished, the Mír expired.

Death of Mír Murád Alí Khán.

The death of Mír Murád Alí Khán occurred on Sunday, the 6th of Jamádissání 1249 A.H. (1833 A.D.) He died of pain in the chest and knees, which kept him confined to bed for about a fortnight.

Mír Murád Alí Khán died leaving four sons, *viz.*, Mírs Núr Muhammad Khán, Nasír Khán, Muhammad Khán and Yár Muhammad Khán † and two daughters. He was

* *Vide* extract (3) in Appendix I.

† Mír Yár Muhammad Khán is the author of the Frerenámah, from which these pages have been translated.

fortunate enough to see his grand-children also, for Mír Núr Muhammad Khán had got two sons Mír Shahdád Khán and Mír Husain Alí Khán, and Mír Nasír Khán had got two sons Mír Hasan Alí Khán and Mír Abbás Alí Khán.*

It was in the previous year that the Mír's Wazír Nawáb Walí Muhammad Khán Lighárí died "full of years and honour, having retained the confidence of his masters and love of people to the last."†

CHAPTER XVIII.

The rule of Mír Nu'r Muhammad Khán.

Division of Sind into several small sub-divisions.

After Mír Murád Alí Khán's death the chiefs and headmen of the Balóches met together and after some consultation among themselves divided the territorial possessions of the late Mír into four parts, one part becoming the share of each of his four sons. These four young Mírs then began to rule at the town of Haidarábád. Similarly on the death of Mír Suhráb Khán of Khairpur,‡ was divided among his sons Mírs Rustam Khán and Alí Murád Khán and their nephews Mír Muhammad Hasan Khán son of Mír Rustam Khán, Mír Muhammad Khán son of Mír Ghulám Haidar Khán and Mír Nasír Khán son of Mír Mubárak Khán.§ In the same way, Mír Alí Murád Khán son of Mír Thárah Khán of Mírpur, having died about that time, his part of the country was divided among his sons, Mírs Sher Muhammad Khán, Sháh Muhammad Khán and Khán Muhammad Khán. In this manner the whole of Sind was divided into small shares each being retained by a young Mír, who con-

---

* About Mír Murád Alí Khán's character see extract (27) in Appendix I.

† See extract (32) in Appendix I. and the genealogical tree in Appendix II.

‡ Mír Suhráb Khán died in 1830 A.D. at the age of 90, from a fall from the upper storey of a house.

§ Who died in 1255 A.H. (1839 A.D.).

sidered himself independent of every other. But Mír Núr Muhammad Khán, the eldest of the Mírs at Haidarábád; being a wise and generous nobleman, soon became popular and came to be acknowledged as the chief ruling prince of Sind.

March of the Mírs against Shujául Mulk at Shikárpur and the departure of the latter.

About this time a report was received from Sayyed Kázim Sháh son of A'ghá Ismáil Sháh the *Názim* or Governor of Shikárpur* to the effect that Shujául Mulk, who had been lodged at Shikárpur by the late Mír, on hearing of his death had become the sole master of Shikárpur and dismissed him. After some consultation, the Mírs collected their forces and started to dispossess the Afghán *ex*-king of Shikárpur. At Khairpur† they were joined by the Mírs of that part, and they all marched together in the direction of Shikárpur. At the same time they despatched some envoys to admonish him to leave the town and go away. Shujául Mulk knowing well that the day of Balóch bravery and heroism had gone, flatly refused to depart. The Mírs proceeded and halted about 6 miles from Shikárpur. From there, their army, which amounted to 18000 men, attacked the two or three thousand Afgháns of the place. They were however soon repulsed by the hardy Afgháns with great loss. Kázim Sháh himself and Gólah Sháh, belonging to the Khairpur army, were among the killed. The Balóches without waiting longer to fight with the enemy, fled back to the Mírs' camp. The latter were now obliged to send A'ghá Ismáil Sháh to sue for peace and settle any terms with Shujául Mulk on condition that he should leave the country. Accordingly it was soon arranged that the Afghán prince should receive 12 *laks* of Sind rupees (equivalent to 8 *laks* of British rupees) and depart. The money was forthwith given and Shujául Mulk left the place for Ludhiánah. Sayyed Ismáil Sháh was then put in charge of the administration of the place, and that officer having appointed his son, Sayyed Zainulábidín

---

* Ágha Ismáil Sháh himself had also been the Governor of Shikárpur and had been succeeded by his son on his transfer.

† Also called Subrábpur at that time.

Sháh to act for him as a *náib* (agent), left for Haidarábád along with the Mírs, and arrived there in Shawwál 1249 H. A. (1833 A.D.)*

Balóches advance to oppose the English from passing through Sind to Kábul.‡

In 1252 A.H. (1836 A.D.)† information was received that Shújául Mulk had applied to the British Government for help against his own countrymen at Kábul and the Government had appointed Sir William Macnaghten to accompany the Afghán prince with an army and reinstal him on the throne of Kábul.‡

At the same time the Governor General of India, Lord Auckland, ordered an army to go from Bombay under the command of General Sir John (afterwards Lord) Keane, passing through Sind to assist Shújául Mulk. But before their coming, Colonel Pottinger was deputed from Kachh to go to the Court of the Mírs and take their formal permission about it and to request them to arrange in a way that the army passing through Sind *viá* Karáchi, might not be molested by any natives of the province, and traders might supply provisions as well as camels, bullocks, labourers and boatmen, at any rate or wages fixed by the Mírs. Mír Núr Muhammad Khán was wise enough to know that under the circumstances of the time, the Balóches were utterly unable to oppose the English in the open field, and so he gave his consent. But the other Mírs, each of whom considered himself an independent ruler, being instigated by rude Balóches objected and showed readiness to fight with the English. Colonel Pottinger was pelted at with stones in the streets of Haidarábád by the boys of the place, and a force was hurriedly got up and marched to the bank of the river, where they encamped in the village of A'bád §. But Mír Núr Muham-

---

* *Vide* extract (14) in Appendix I and the genealogical tree of the Aghás in Appendix II.

† "One year before this, *i.e.*, in 1835, Colonel Pottinger had succeeded after much difficulty in obtaining permission to survey the sea-coast of Sind and the delta of the Indus; and in 1836 the Kabul campaign necessitated the despatch of British troops from Bombay to join the main army in the Northern Provinces, by way of the Indus."—*Sind Gazetteer.*

‡ See extract (8) in Appendix I.

§ Where Mír Muhammad Khán's Tando stands now, about 2 miles to the north of the Gidu Bandar.

mad Khán had already given his permission and Captain Whitelock had already left for Karáchi. Mír Sher Muhammad Khán now arrived from Mírpur with 12000 men and joined the other Mírs. The Balóches running short of provisions so soon, began to plunder the traders, who had collected large quantities of provisions for the British army, which had already been purchased and kept ready for them. This was all the work of the first night and the next morning. The Balóches were ready to loot the *bazár* of Haidarábad. Mír Núr Muhammad and his brothers, hearing of these outrages, tried their best to check the wild Balóches and with great difficulty succeeded in quieting them, after they had shaved the beards and cut the ears of a good number of them.

The fort of Manahrah is taken and the British force is landed at Karáchi.

Soon a report was received from Jamádár Alahrakhiah the governor of Karáchi, that ships bearing British troops had arrived off Karáchi, that the Sindí gunners posted in the fort of Manahrah,† had fired two or three guns at the ships, that the return bombs were fired from the ships razing to the ground one side of the fort in about a quarter of an hour, and that General Keane had landed his army by force. On hearing this, the Mírs sent Sayyed Ismáíl Sháh to meet Sir John Keane and to treat with him for peace through the medium of Major Pottinger, who had since left Haidarábád and joined the general. Accordingly, the Sayyed went to Karachi and tried his best to bring about peace by giving excuses and explanation for what had happened. At last the following treaty was drawn up, *viz.*:—

(1) That the Mírs must supply provisions and beasts of burden on reasonable prices and hire.

(2) That as the Sind rupee contained much alloy, being 3 *masás* out of 11, and its circulation caused great loss to traders, the Mírs should strike a rupee weighing 8 *masás*, containing no alloy.

(3) That the Mírs should pay an indemnity of 23 *laks* of pure rupees to the British Government.

(4) That in future a British force of 3000 men would be posted at Karáchi.

† Manórá.

(5) That a Resident would be appointed to remain at Haidarábád to superintend the British force and to watch the interests of the British Government in Sind.

(6) That the Mírs would pay 3 *laks* of rupees annually to the British Government as a tribute, and

(7) That the Mírs would readily comply with any reasonable request that the British Resident might make and that the latter would in no way interfere with any public or private affairs of the Mírs. A copy of the above treaty was taken with Sayyed Ismáil Sháh's letter to the Mírs, by Captain Whitelock, assistant to Major Pottinger, the British Resident. The Mírs accepted the terms and signed the treaty.*

Passage of British forces up the river to Kábul.†

After this Sir John Keane with his whole force started for Kábul. The troops were prevented from going to the east of the Indus, on their march along the river. When they arrived at Kótrí, the European Military officers expressed a desire to visit the town of Haidarábád. Permission was asked from the Mírs, who were requested to arrange in such a way that no mischief or hurt be caused by the people to the officers. The permission was granted and Sayyed Jiandal Sháh, the Kotwál or Police Superintendent of the town was ordered to proclaim by tom-tom that the people should keep aloof from doing any harm to the Europeans coming to see the town, or else they would be punished severely. The next day, after sunrise, all the European officers crossed the river and came to Haidarábád. It was winter then. They went about the town visiting places of importance till 4 p.m., when they returned to Kótrí. The next morning, the British forces started again on their march. Col. Ledge was sent ahead to inform the Mírs of Khairpur of their coming. Those Mírs at first showed some opposition, but subsequently they remained quiet. In a short time General Keane arrived at Chhiprí, where after some conversation Mr. Ross Bell was left as a Resident. The British force which consisted of 2000 men then proceeded to Khurásán.

Changes in the British Residents at Haidarábád.

After a year and a half Mr. Ross Bell died and the Residency of Khairpur too was attached to Major Pottinger, the Resident at Haidarábád. After 7 months

* See extract (5) in Appendix I.

† See extract (8) in Appendix I.

that officer fell ill and went home and was succeeded by his assistant Captain Leckie. But he too did not remain long and was soon transferred to Bombay, Captain Eastwick being next appointed as the Resident. This officer remained until after some days, Major Outram was nominated to the post and arrived at Haidarábád *viâ* Kachh. After a short stay at Haidarábád Major Outram left his assistant Captain Whitelock to act for him at the capital of Sind and himself went to see the Residency at Khairpur and to settle some affairs in connection with Kalát.

General Keane returns from Kábul and passes through Haidarábád to Bombay.

In the month of Zí-Kaad 1254 A.H. (1838 A.D.) General Sir John Keane after re-installing Shujáulmulk on the throne of Kábul returned to Bombay, with Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán, the son of Amír Dóst Muhammad Khán, as a hostage. On his way, he alighted at the Residency bungalow of Major Outram, which was situated on the bank of the Indus, near Mír Muhammad Khán's village. Mír Núr Muhammad Khan ordered a salute of 19 guns in honour of the General. That morning the Mírs paid formal visits to the General, who received them with distinction. In the afternoon, General Keane, accompanied by 25 other European officers, returned the visits. They were received by the Mírs in an open Durbár, which had been held for the occasion, with all the pomp of an Indian ruler. The General gave some gold as *nazránah* to each of the three Mírs, Núr Muhammad Khán, Nasír Khán and Mír Muhammad Khán and then took his leave. He next paid a visit to Mír Sóbdár Khán. About sunset he returned to the Residency. The next day, the General, with Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán and other officers left for Bombay.

Death of Mír Núr Muhammad Khán*

In Jamádissání 1255 A.H. (1840 A.D.) Mír Núr Muhammad Khán became ill. He remained for some time under the treatment of Native and European doctors, but in vain. At last early on the morning of Wednesday, 10th Shawwál, 1255 A.H. (1840 A.D.)† he died and was buried by the side of his father.‡

---

* See extract (10) in Appendix I.

† The *Sind Gazetteer* is wrong in giving this date as 1841 A.D.

‡ About Núr Muhammad Khán's character see extract (29) in Appendix I.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Rule of Mír Muhammad Nasír Khán.

Dispute between Mírs Husain Alí Khán and Mír Shahdád Khán.

After Mír Núr Muhammad Khán's death all the Balóch chiefs acknowledged Mír Muhammad Nasír Khán as their head, as he was a very good man and a person of literary pursuits and princely habits.

In the very next month a dispute arose between the late Mír's sons Mír Husain Alí Khán and Mír Shahdád Khán, about their father's legacy. The dispute was about to pass from words to arms. At the instigation of Ahmad Khán Lighárí, Mír Sóbdár Khán took the side of Mír Husain Alí Khán, and Mír Nasír Khán espoused the cause of Mír Shahdád Khán. As there was no probability of settling the matter otherwise, Mír Nasír Khán sent A'khúnd Bachal, one of his chief courtiers, to Colonel Outram, the Resident, requesting him to interfere as an umpire and settle the matter between the two brothers. Accordingly the Colonel came and soon brought about reconciliation between them and settled the dispute.

Cholera in Sind.

In 1257 A.H. (1841 A.D.) Colonel Outram went on sick leave to Egypt and his assistant Captain Mylne acted for him. In Rabíussání of the next year, 1258 A.H. (1842 A.D.) cholera broke out at Haidarábád, and from there it spread throughout the province of Sind. All the Mírs with their families, except Mírs Husain Alí Khán and Sóbdár Khán and their sons, who went to live at Aghímání, left Haidarábád and went to Miánah, where they remained for 3 months. In Jamádissání they came back to the fort of Haidarábád.

Sir Charles Napier appointed as Resident.

About the close of Shuabán of the same year (September 1842 A.D.) Sir Charles Napier being appointed as the Resident of Sind, left Púnah* and came to Sind. From Karáchi he came to Haidarábád by a steamer. On his arrival, at the Residency the Mírs sent their men to

* Poona.

welcome him. In the afternoon, he came to visit Mír Nasír Khán. Mír Abbás Alí Khán with a few other nobles was sent to receive him at a short distance from the fort and to bring him in. Next he visited Mír Sóbdár Khán and then returned to the Residency. After three days he left for Sakhar. At the latter place he saw all the Mírs of that part. In the month of Ramazan, Captain Mylne, Assistant Resident went to Bombay and in the next month Captain Stanley came in his place. On the 18th of the same month he visited Mír Nasír Khán to get his sanction to a fresh treaty for which he had been sent by Sir Charles Napier. The terms of the treaty were (1) that the coin of Sind should bear the name of the King of England on one side; (2) that the Mírs should cede to the British Government Karáchi, Shikárpur, Sabzalkót, Umarkót and all the land attached to these towns; (3) and that a slip of land 100 yards in width, along both the banks of the river be given to the British Government. The Mír did not agree to the terms of the treaty and refused to sign it.* The Captain, therefore immediately left for Bombay by a steamer.

Disagreement between Mír Alí Murád Khán and Mír Rustam Khán and the flight of the latter.

About that time, Mír Alí Murad Khán of Khairpur, with the secret help of Sir Charles Napier, openly declared his enmity against his oldest brother Mír Rustam Khán, and put him to flight to seek shelter, in his old age, in the sandy deserts of Thar. It would appear that after the division of the late Mír Suhrab Khán's country among his children, the other Mírs entertained a dislike towards Mír Alí Murad Khán and wanted to molest him. The latter therefore thought it proper to save himself by attaching himself to Sir Charles.

Disagreement between Mír Sóbdár Khán and the other Mírs of Haidarábád.

At the close of Zíkaad 1258 A.H. (1842 A.D.) Colonel Outram, the former Resident arrived at Haidarábád, but he did not alight from the steamer. The Mírs sent presents to him. The Colonel accepted the presents of Mír Sóbdár Khán, but rejected those of Mír Nasir Khán and other Mírs. The latter, therefore, got grieved at this

*The full text is given in extract (14) in Appendix I.

and understood that Mír Sóbdár Khán was behaving in the same way as Mír Alí Murád Khán was doing at Khairpur under the guidance of Sir Charles Napier and they feared that Mír Sóbdár Khán wanted to cause them similar harm. This heightened the enmity between the two Mírs.

Disagreement between the Mírs and Sir Charles Napier.

About the close of Zilhajj of the same year, Mír Nasír Khán and Mír Muhammad Hasan, the nephew and the son of Mír Rustam Khán, came to Haidarábád from Kóhírah, asking help from Mír Muhammad Nasír Khán for Mír Rustam Khán. On the 2nd of Muharram 1259 A.H. (1843 A.D.) Mír Rustam Khán himself, with his other sons and brothers arrived. All the Mírs, except Mír Sóbdár Khán and Mír Shahdád Khán went out to receive him and brought him into the fort of Haidarábád.* Shortly after this Mírzá Khusróbeg, Yúsif Khizmatgár and Ghulám Alí Nizámání were sent as envoys to Sir Charles Napier, whose camp was near Sehwán then. They delivered the message of the Mírs, stating that they were ready to accept the terms of the last treaty, but their wish was that at first Mír Rustam Khán should get back his right, through the intercession of the General. During the conversation that ensued with Sir Charles, Mírzá Khusróbeg was bold enough to tell him in strong terms that the Mírs of Haidarábád had been much grieved to hear of the treatment of Mír Rustam Khán, and that the Balóches had taken the matter so much to heart that if the English people should come to Haidarábád, they would draw swords at them. "And the fighting of the Balóches," said he, "is not a trivial thing. You should be sure that Sind is not a cold pudding that you would eat so easily." These words coming from an envoy, exasperated the General beyond measure. He refused to have any more conversation with the envoys. "I am also for war," said Sir Charles, "let us see how the swords of the Balóches resist the volleys of muskets and guns." He said the next day he would send Colonel Outram by a steamer to Haidarábád to hear from the Mírs direct what they had to say.

---

* See extract (15) in Appendix I.

On the 6th of Muharram, Colonel Outram, Lieutenant Brown and a few other officers with about 150 soldiers arrived at Naoábád, where the British camp and Residency were. The next day Colonel Outram and the other officers came to visit the Mírs. They were arrived at the bungalow of Mír Nasír Khán. After a long discussion, the Mírs promised to sign the treaty after the 10th of Muharram was over. The officers then went back to their camp in the evening. On the 12th, Colonel Outram and Lieutenant Brown again went to Mír Nasír Khán to have the treaty signed and sealed, as promised. Mír Nasír Khán said that his seal was with Muhammad Khán son of Lukmán Talpur, and that of Mír Shahdád Khán was with his Mukhtiárkár Muhammad Khán Lighárí, and the next day they would take the seals from their confidential attendants and fix them to the document of treaty. The officers therefore went back to return the next day.

During the following night Ghulám Muhammad and Yakhtiar Khán Laghárís induced Mír Nasír Khán to change his views in regard to the English. Mírs Ghulám Sháh Sháhwáni and Khán Muhammad Mánikáni, who were the chief advisers of the Mír, advised him to declare war against the English General, while Akhund Bachal and Nawáb Muhammad Khán Talpur, entreated the Mír to keep peace with the English and give up any idea of war. But as fate would have it, Mír Nasír Khán was inclined to fight with the English and to refuse to sign the treaty.

The next day Colonel Outram * sent the document in question with a confidential subordinate of his to the Mír. Ghulám Muhammad Lighárí snatched the same from his hands and tore it to pieces. The man went back disappointed to the Colonel.

It may be noted here that during this discussion Mír Shahdád Khán wisely stood aloof from giving any opinion or taking any side. While Mírs Sóbdár Khán and Mír Muhammad Khán displayed duplicity by joining the Balóches on one side and the English on the other †

* Who was the former Resident and who had previously left Sind, but was re-called in January 1843.

† See extracts (6) and (17) in Appendix I.

The Balóches attack the English camp and residency at Haidarábád.*

At last on 14th of the same month, in the afternoon, Mír Muhammad Nasír Khán and Mír Husain Alí Khán came out of the fort in order to attack the English camp and Residency. They encamped in a garden about 2 miles from Haidarábád. About 8000 Balóches, some on wretched horses, others with useless arms, gathered about the place, and beating the drum of war marched towards the river. When they arrived near the English camp, Captain Harding was directed to fire a volley at them. The result was that the Balóches withdrew to a long distance, halting under bábul trees, standing in clusters there. Nawáb Ahmad Khán Lighárí now sent a messenger to Mír Shahdád Khán telling him that he with his brothers and kinsmen was going to fight with the English and asking him to come and join the main body. While Mír Shahdád was wavering on the point, Mír Ján Muhammad Khán's message arrived that he and the Nawáb were on their way to the river and that Mír Shahdád Khán must join them, in the name of family honour and the word of God. Mír Shahdád Khán, therefore, was obliged to get ready and taking a few cannons with him started for the riverside.

Meanwhile Colonel Outram and other European officers seeing that it was no longer safe to stop in the residency, picked up the necessary and valuable things with them and moved to the two steamers lying along the bank. Immediately the Balóches poured in on the empty camp, plundering the place, setting fire to the old tents and houses and taking away a large heap of bread and other articles which had been left behind as unnecessary. While they were thus busy, balls fired from the guns in the steamers began to shower upon them. Mashhadí a Persian cook of Mír Nasír Khán was directed to fire a cannon. The balls fell on the steamer and nearly destroyed them. A little before sunset the two steamers were at last seen moving away up the stream, to the north, in the direction of Sehwán, where General Napier's camp was. Then the Balóches returned to their homes, and Mír Shahdád went and joined Mír Nasír Khán who was then in Kháthrí. The next morning the two Mírs with their forces came to Miání† and encamped there.

---

* See extract (18) in Appendix I.

† Also called Miánah.

The battle of Miáni and the defeat of the Mírs of Haidarábád.*

A little before noon information was received that the English army had left Halah on the previous night and were moving forward. In the evening a report came that they had arrived at Muta-allawí (Matiárí), and were to leave that place the next morning, and that they were about 5000 men and had 12 guns with them. On getting this news Mír Nasír Khán sent word to Ghulám Muhammad and Yakhtiár Lighárís and Ghulám Sháh and Jan Muhammad Tálpurs, who were the leaders of the Balóch forces, to get ready and to send a reconnoitring party to advance and check them. But the zeal of the Balóches began to slacken and they openly refused to advance. Mír Nasír Khán repented very much at having depended on such fickle people and having acted according to their inclination. "These Balóches," said he, "have done to me, what the Kúfís did to Imám Husain." That whole night was spent in conversation and close consultation as to what to do to avert the impending calamity. When the sun rose the next morning, Mír Nasír Khán prepared for battle and adjusted his arms on his person. His example was followed by Mír Shahdád Khán, Mír Husain Alí Khán, Mír Rustam Khán and other chiefs. Taking 17000 men and 11 guns with them the Mírs advanced to the old Phuleli, where they arrayed the army to meet the English. Soon some spies informed them that the English army was in sight, and forthwith the Balóch gunners began to throw bombs in the direction of the enemy. Just about that time three English officers on fleet horses were seen reconnoitring close to the Balóch army and going back to join their main force. The English now began to respond with their guns, and soon a general fight ensued, which did not last long; for the Balóches were put to flight and they did not rest till they had reached the town of Haidarábád. This battle took place on Friday the 17th of Muharram 1259 A.H. (1843 A.D). In the afternoon, about the time of Friday prayers, Mír Husain Alí Khán was the first to return to the fort, and about an hour after, Mír Nasír Khán, Mír Shahdád Khán, together with the Mírs of Khairpúr also arrived.

---

* See extract (19) in Appendix I.

Surrender of the Mírs, and secession of Mír Sóbdár Khán.

General Napier, after securing the booty left behind by the Balóches encamped at the very place, where the camp of the Balóches had stood. Fearing lest some Balóches should have concealed themselves in the hunting-grounds of Miáni close by, a search was made, but no sign of the Balóches was found there.

During the night, that followed, Mír Sóbdár Khán sent some trays of sweetmeats and other presents to General Napier, through Munshí Áwatrái, who had held out hopes to that Mír of reaping the same advantage from the friendship with the English, as Mír Alí Murád Khán of Khairpur had done.* As the night was dark and the watchman of the English camp could not be made to distinguish between a friend and a foe from among the Balóches, the Munshí returned disappointed. That night there was all confusion in the town of Haidarábád. It was expected that the next day the English troops would come and plunder the place. So the people began to migrate with all the valuables and necessary articles they could carry with them. The same was the case with the occupants of the fort. The next morning, Mír Sóbdár Khán openly sent Munshí Áwatrái † and Músá Armaní (Armenian) to the English General expressing a desire to have an interview with him. The General's reply was that, before anything else could be done Mírs Nasír Khán, Shahdád Khán and Husain Alí Khán should surrender to him or else he would besiege the fort and raze it to the ground by cannonade and would not be responsible for what worse might happen thereby. Mír Sóbdár Khán sent the two men to deliver the General's message to Mír Nasír Khán. The latter had no alternative. Taking both of his nephews with him he rode to the English camp, accompanied by 7 or 8 men. When this party drew near the camp, Colonel Outram came out of the tents and after exchanging salutations took the three Mírs into his own tent. After a few minutes, General Napier and Colonel Pattle entered the same tent. The Mírs opened

* About Mír Sóbdár Khán's character see extract (31) in Appendix I.

† Munshí Partabraí was the son of Gurbómal and grandson of Kaliándás. He lived at his *ládhis* near Shahdádpur. Later on he was openly assaulted by some Jalálání Baloches and killed. He left two sons Girdhardas and Takhtrám. The latter's son is Gágandás.

the belts of their swords and placed the weapons before the General, who received them and again tied the same with his own hands on the waists of the Mírs. He then told them that he was sending his report to the Governor General, Lord Ellenborough, at Calcutta, and would act according to the orders received from him. "Till then," he said, "the Mírs might remain in their camp on the bank of the Indus." As Mír Husain Alí Khán was very young, the General, following the suggestion of Colonel Outram, permitted him to return to the fort. The next day (19th of the month) Sir Charles Napier moved his army to his camp at Naóábád. The two Mírs were lodged in the garden, now called Mír Muhammad Khan's garden, and a guard of 1st Brandesbury regiment under Lieut. Johnson, was sent over them. Lieut. Brown, the General's Secretary, was asked to look after the comfort and wants of the Mírs.

The Mírs are made prisoners and the fort of Haidarábád is taken.

On the 21st of the same month, Captain Pelly intimated to the Mírs that some officers would go into the fort during the day and raise the British flag on the tower. About 2 p.m., Colonel Pattle with a party of 12th Bombay Infantry and 9th Bengal Cavalry and two guns entered the fort. At the same time a cavalcade of Jacob's Horse came to the town to keep peace there, and Lieut. Mollison went to the Kótwálí and removed the officers of the Mírs and took charge of it.

Colonel Pattle first came to the bungalow of Mír Sóbdár Khán in the fort and then went to the tower and unfurled the British flag. Next he wanted to have the keys of the fort and treasures. The gates had already been secured by a guard and communication stopped. In about three days all the treasures, open or buried, were taken possession of by Colonel Macpherson and two other officers, who were deputed to do that duty. Of all the Mírs, Mír Nasír Khán's valuables were the most that fell into the hands of the English, for unlike the other Mírs, he had had no opportunity of removing any part of his property.

On the 26th of the month Captain Brown took away Mír Mír Muhammad Khán on an elephant to the English camp to join the other Mírs. And on the 1st of the next

month (Saffar) Mír Sóbdár Khán also was taken away in a *palankin*, from the fort, in which only the young Mírs were now left behind. On the 3rd of the month Major Wright, of the 12th Bombay Infantry was appointed to relieve Colonel Pattle and remain in charge of the fort.

On this very date, in the evening, a comet appeared in the heavens. Its head was to the west and its tail to the east. It remained for about a month and then gradually disappeared. The people considered it very unlucky and attributed the loss of Sind out of the hands of the Mírs, to its inauspicious influence.

Battle of Dabbah and the defeat of Mír Sher Muhammad Khán.*

On the 22nd of Saffar 1259 A.H. (1843 A.D.) Sir Charles Napier prepared to march against Mír Sher Muhammad Khán of Mírpur. Heavy showers of rain prevented him from leaving the place, that day. The next day, he started and met the Mír's forces at the village of Dabbah about 4 miles to the east of Haidarábád. Here, a severe battle took place, which ended in the defeat of Mír Sher Muhammad. Hósh Muhammad Habashí (Abyssinian) † who was one of the chief followers of Mír Sóbdár Khán and was a brave soldier, was killed in this battle. Mír Sher Muhammad Khán fled to Mírpur, being pursued by General Napier. Arriving at Mírpur, the Mír hurriedly carried some necessary baggage with him and left for the Púnjab, to take refuge with Shersing, the Sikh ruler. His first halt was near Sehwán, where he put a ditch round the camp on three sides, leaving the west side, along which the river flowed. He appointed his brother Mír Sháh Muhammad Khán to watch the baggage left behind the camp. Colonel Wright, who was then at Sehwán, made an attack on Mír Sher Muhammad. The three or four hundred Balóches, under Mír Sháh Muhammad Khán were put to flight and Mír Sháh Muhammad himself was taken prisoner. Colonel Wright immediately sent him to Haidarábád. All the Mírs, who had been captured, were now removed from the English camp to a steamer, which was pushed off to about the middle of the stream

* See extract (20) in Appendix I.

† He was killed in the battle of Dabbah. His son Karímdád had a son by name Bachal, whose two sons Hósh Muhammad and Imam Baksh live at Tandó Thóró.

and there anchored. It remained there till, after the battle of Dabbah, the whole country from Umarkót to Haidarábád came into the complete possession of the English conquerors and their posts were established everywhere. Then the Mírs were again landed in the camp.

Three men hanged by a court-martial.

A court-martial was then held to decide the fate of three men, who had been charged with murder. One of them, Muhammad son of Dittah, was alleged to have killed a Pársí and the two others were Balóches, who had murdered Captain Ennis. The burden of these murders was laid by Sir Charles on the head of Mír Shahdád Khán. The first prisoner was hanged by the neck near the fort-gate, and the last two, below the fort-hill.*

CHAPTER XX.

Mírs as Prisoners.

State prisoners sent to Bombay and thence to Poona.

On the 9th of Rabíulawwal orders were received from the Governor-General to the effect that the State prisoners be sent to Bombay. The Mírs were accordingly informed and asked to prepare and give a list of the followers whom they wished to accompany them. They were also asked to arrange for the removal of their families from the fort to any place outside. Within two days all the *harams* or *derahs* of the Mírs were taken away by the Mírs' men to the Tandah of Yúsif, on the western bank of the Phuleli. Three days after that, *i.e*, on the evening of 14th, Captain Brown with 20 soldiers of the 9th Bengal Cavalry took away the young Mírs, Hasan Alí Khán and Abbás Alí Khán, the sons of Mír Nasír Khán. Soon after that, Mírs Fateh Alí Khán and Muhammad Alí Khán, the sons of Mír Sóbdár Khán were

* Sir Charles Napier writes as follows in his letter to the Governor General, dated 13th March 1843:—

"I executed the murderer of the Parsee, putting a label on his breast that he was not hanged for fighting with us, but for murdering a man, who was a prisoner."

also taken away to the English camp as prisoners. And the next morning they with their elderly relatives Mírs Nasir Khán, Mír Muhammad Khán, Sóbdar Khán and Shahdéd Khán were sent to Bombay by a steamer.* On 23rd Rabíulawwal 1259 A.H. (April 1843 A.D.) Mír Husain Alí Khán son of Mír Núr Muhammad Khán and Mírs Muhammad Khán and Yár Muhammad Khán sons of Mír Murád Alí Khán, who had been left behind, were also taken away under the orders of Sir Charles Napier, who had now become the Governor of Bombay, by Captain Brown with 10 men of the 9th Bengal Cavalry, from the fort to the river and thence by a steamer to the mouth of the Indus and thence to Bengal, where they arrived on the 2nd of Rabíussání. All the Mírs were lodged in a bungalow on the Malabár Hill. Captain Gordon was put in charge of them. They were visisted by the Governor of Bombay. As the monsoon had commenced, on the 2nd of Jamádilawwal of the same year, the Mírs were taken to the village of Sasúr, about 24 miles off Púnah (Poona.) After some 5 months, Mír Sháh Muhammad Khán was also brought and joined the other Mírs, at this place.

The Mírs are taken to Calcutta and Hazáribágh.

Up to this time the Mírs were entertained at the Government expense. But now each of them was given a monthly allowance to maintain himself. In Muharram 1260 A.H. (1844 A.D.) orders were received to send the Mírs to Calcutta. Mír Rustam Khán, who was considered unfit for such a journey owing to his weakness and old age, was allowed to stay at Poona, with his son Mir Alahbakhsh and his nephew Mír Nasír Khán. The rest of the Mírs were taken to Bombay first and thence by a steamer to Calcutta, where they arrived on 4th Rabíussání 1260 A.H. (1844 A.D.) Captain Gordon had come with the Mírs as Superintendent in charge, and he continued in that post hereto. The Mírs after being introduced to the Governor-General at Government House were lodged in a bungalow outside the town.

In the next month the Mírs were given the choice of going to live at Hazáribágh or of remaining at Calcutta.

---

* His Majesty's ship-of-war named *Nimrod*.

Mírs Husain Alí Khán, Muhammad Khán, Hasan Alí Khán, Sháh Muhammad Khán and Yár Muhammad Khán preferred going to Hazáríbágh. Accordingly on 24th Jamádissání, they started by steamer to Murshidábád, thence to Azímábád (Pátná) and thence to Hazáríbágh, where they arrived in Rajjib. Here they remained for 8 years, some of them constantly going to Calcutta to visit the other Mírs and coming back.

Death of some Mírs and the return of others to Haidarábád.

In 1262 A.H. (1846 A.D.) Mír Muhammad Nasír Khán died at Calcutta.* In 1263 A.H. (1847 A.D.) Mír Shahdád Khán, who, as noted above, had been charged by Sir Charles Napier with setting fire to the English camp at Haidarábád and with murdering Captain Ennis, and for that reason, had been kept separate from the other Mírs at Súrat, was after much enquiry declared not guilty by Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General and brought to Calcutta to live with the other Mírs. In the same year Mír Fateh Alí Khán son of Mír Sóbdár Khán died at Calcuttá.

In 1270 A.H. (1854 A.D.) at the representation of the Governor-General (Lord Dalhousie), the Court of the Directors of the East India Company permitted the Mírs to return to Sind if they liked to do so. Accordingly some of them prepared to return. In Rabíulawwal 1272 A.H. (November 1855 A.D.) Mír Muhammad Khán was the first to arrive in Haidarábád *viá* Dehlí and the Panjáb. His brother Mír Yár Muhammad Khán who had been left at Alahábád with their *harams*, left that place in Rabíussání 1273 A.H. (December 1856 A.D.) by the same route and reached Haidarábád in Rajjib of the same year. On the 7th of the same month, 4th March 1857 A.D., Mír Abbás Alí Khán died at Calcutta. On the 7th of Muharram 1274 A.H. (28th August 1857 A.D.) Mír Shahdád Khán breathed his last. In the same year the coffins of all the Mírs, who had died there were brought to Haidarábád and their bodies buried in the Talpurs' burial-ground to the north of the town. In Shuabán 1275 A.H. (March 1859 A.D.) Mír Husain Alí Khán returned to Haidarábád. The Commissioner in Sind gave a piece of land to the

* About his character read extract (30) in Appendix I.

Mírs, along the bank of the river near Gidú Bandar to fix their residence there. Soon a pretty village grew up about the place, where the surviving Mírs with their children and followers have since lived.

The first Commissioners in Sind.

In 1259 A.H. (1843 A.D.) when Sind was conquered by the English, Sir Charles Napier, who was the conqueror of Sind, was put in political charge of Sind as a Governor. In 1262 A.H. (1847 A.D.) General Napier was sent with an army against Múlráj, who had revolted at Multán, and Sind was annexed to the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Pringle being appointed as the Commissioner of Sind. Next came Mr. Frere * as the Commissioner of Sind (in December 1850). He became very popular. It was in his time and at his suggestion, that the Mírs were permitted to return to their native place. Mr. Frere became Governor of Bombay and left Sind in 1859 when he was succeeded by Mr. Inverarity.†

---

* Afterwards Sir Bartle Frere. The Frerenámah written by Mír Yár Muhammad Khán was dedicated to him.

† The Frerenámah which we have been translating, ends here.

APPENDIX I.

(A.) Extracts from the Blue Book of the Parliament.

'The Sind Correspondence.'

---

1. On 10th Rajjib 1224—21st August 1809—a treaty was made by the British Government with Mírs Ghulám Alí Khán, Karam Alí Khán and Murád Alí Khán. The articles of the treaty were as follows:—

Treaty between the British Government and Mir Ghulam Ali Khán and his 2 brothers.*

"(1) There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Sinde.

(2) Enmity shall never appear between the two States.

(3) The mutual despatch of the vakeels of both the Governments shall always continue.

(4) The Government of Sinde will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Sinde."

2. In the Blue Book one treaty is mentioned between the British Government and Mírs Karam Alí Khán and Murád Alí Khán, through A'ghá Ismáil Sháh on 9th November 1820. In addition to the assurances of friendship between the two Governments, the following two articles are given, *viz.*:—

Treaty between the British Government and Mirs Karam Ali Khán and Murad Ali Khán.†

"(3) The Amirs of Sinde engage not to permit any European or American to settle in their dominions. If any of the subjects of either of the two States should establish their residence in the dominions of the other and should conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceful manner in the territory to which they may emigrate, they will be allowed to remain in that situation; but if such fugitives shall be guilty of any disturbance or commotion it will be incumbent on the local authority to take the offenders into custody and punish or compel them to quit the country.

---

* See page 214. † See page 215.

(4) The Amirs of Sinde engage to restrain the depredations of the Khoosas and all other tribes and individuals within their limits and to prevent the occurrence of any inroad into the British dominions."

Treaty between the East India Company and Mir Murad Ali Khán.*

3. On 20th April 1832 (18th Zikaad 1247 A.H.) a treaty was concluded between the East India Company and Mír Murád Alí Khán, through Lieut.-Colonel Pottinger. The following were some of the important articles :—

"(2) That the two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.

(3) That the British Government has requested a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindustan by the river and roads of Sinde, by which they may transport either goods and merchandize from one country to another, and the said Government of Hyderabad hereby acquiesces in the same request on the 3 following conditions—that no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river and roads; that no armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river, and that no English merchants shall be allowed to settle in Sinde, but shall come as occasion requires, and having stopped to transact their business, shall return to India.

(4) When merchants shall determine on visiting Sinde they shall obtain a passport to do so from the British Government, and due intimation of the granting of such passport shall be made to the said Government of Hyderabad by the Resident in Cutch, or other officer of the said British Government.

(5) That the said Government is to promulgate a tariff or table of duties leviable on each kind of goods as the case may be . . . . '—

This treaty was modified by another concluded in 1834, by which a toll was fixed on each boat of 19 Tatta rupees per Tatta Kharrar, of which 8 rupees were to be received by the Government of Hyderabad and Khairpur and 11 by other States on the banks of the Indus, *viz*:—H.H. Bahawal Khan, Maharajah Ranjit-sing and the East India Company. The size of the boat was fixed to be 30 Tatta Kharrars for the sake of levying toll.

---

* See page 220.

4. The following treaty was concluded between the East India Company through Colonel H. Pottinger and Mírs Núr Muhammad Khán and Nasír Khán on 30th April 1838 :—

Treaty between the East India Company and Mírs Núr Muhammad Khán and Nasír Khán.*

"(1) In consideration of the long friendship, which has subsisted between the British Government and the Amírs of Sinde, the Governor-General in Council engages to use his good offices to adjust the present differences, which are understood to subsist between the Amírs of Sind and Maharajah Runjitsing, so that peace and friendship may be established between the two States.

(2) In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace which have so long subsisted between the Sinde State and the British, a minister shall reside at the court of Hyderabad and that the Amírs of Sinde shall also be at liberty to depute a vakeel to reside at the court of the British Government; and that the British Minister shall be empowered to change his ordinary place of residence as may, from time to time, seem expedient and be attended by such an escort as may be deemed suitable by his Government.

As the Amírs had large arrears of tribute to pay Sháh Shujául Mulk, they were required by the Governor-General to pay 30 *laks* to the king at once. The Government Secretary wrote the following to the Resident in Sind :—"Beyond the payment of this sum, you will consider facilities heartily and actively given to the British force on its advance, as the first means, by which the principal Ameers may redeem any portion of the favour, which they have forfeited. But they will understand at the same time that such has been the character of their measures as to render it absolutely necessary that military posts be occupied in their country for the safe maintenance of communication between the army and the sea, and for the easy return of the British force to the Presidency of Bombay."

The treaty of 23 Articles between the British Government and Mírs Núr Muhammad Khán and Nasir Khan.†

5. The following is the treaty of 23 articles, the most important of which are given here.

"(2) The Governor-General of India has commanded that a British force shall be kept in Sinde and stationed at the city of Tattá, where a cantonment will be formed. * The strength of this force is to depend on the pleasure of the Governor-General of India, but will not exceed 5000 men.

---

* See page 223. † See page 225.

(3) Meer Noor Mahomed Khán, Meer Nusseer Mahomed Khan and Meer Mahomed Khan bind themselves to pay annually the sum of 3 *laks* of rupees in part of the expense of the force, from the presence of which their respective territories will derive such vast advantages.

(5) The British Government pledges itself neither to interfere in any degree, small or great, in the internal management, or affairs of the several possessions of the Ameers, nor to think of introducing in any shape its regulations or adawlats.

(7) The British Government agrees to protect Sinde from all foreign aggressions.

(9) Should any Ameer attack or injure the possession of another Ameer, or those of his dependents, the Resident in Sinde will, on being applied to by both sides act as mediator between them.

(11) Their Highnesses the Ameers agree to form no new treaties, or enter into any engagements with Foreign States, without the knowledge of the British Government, but their Highnesses will of course carry on friendly correspondence, as usual, with all their neighbours.

(14) The Ameers agree to either build or allow the British Government to build an enclosure and store-house at Karáchi as a depôt for stores.

(15) Should any British merchants or others bring goods by the way of Karáchi Bunder, the duties of Sinde Government will be paid on them agreeable to the custom of the country.

(16) . . . As the thorough-fare (on the Indus) will now be increased a hundred-fold, the contracting Governments agree to abolish the tolls on the river from the sea to Ferozepore.

(19) Should the British Government at any time require and apply for the aid of the army of Sinde, their Highnesses the Ameers agree to furnish it according to their means, and in any such case the troops, thus applied for are not to exceed 3000 men, are not to proceed beyond the frontier of Sinde, and are to be paid for by the British Government.

(21) A separate treaty has been made between the British Government and Meer Rustam Khán of Khyrpur, 5th February 1839 A.D. = 20th Zikad 1254 A.H."

Wavering of the Mirs before signing the last treaty.*

6. Lieutenant Eastwick to the Resident in Sind. Sind Residency, January 26th, 1839 —. . . . (on 22nd) about 1 o'clock Captain Outram, Lieutenant Leckie

* See page 230.

and myself started for the fort. We were received by Meer Noor Mahomed, Meer Nusseer Khan and Meer Meer Mahomed in a private apartment in which Meer Shadad, Mirza Khoosrow, Nawab Mahomed Khan and Munshi Choitram were present after a profusion of civilities evidently forced, Meer Noor Mahomed produced a box from which he took out all the treaties that had been entered into between the British and Hyderabad Governments, showing them to me only one, he asked "what is to become of all these. Here is another annoyance. Since the day Sinde has been connected with the English, there has always been something new. Government is never satisfied; we are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops through our territories and now you wish to remain. This the Baluchis will never suffer. But still we might even arrange this matter were we certain that we should not be harassed with other demands. There is the payment to the king; why can we obtain no answer on this point? Four months have now elapsed since this question was first discussed. Is this a proof of friendship? We have failed in nothing; we have furnished camels, boats, grain; we have distressed ourselves to supply your wants. We will send our ambassador to the Governor-General to represent these things; you must state them to Colonel Pottinger" . . . . . (on 23rd) intelligence was brought that a night attack was meditated. . . we therefore made the best disposition of our small force, conveyed the baggage (except tents) and servants on board the boats and waited the result. All the people and baggage were embarked on board the boats and sent forward; the gentlemen of the Residency followed in the steamer.

Sayyad Ismáil Sháh and his sons.*

7. The Resident in Sind to the Secretary with the Governor-General. February 16th 1839— . . . The only persons in whom the Ameers seem to put confidence just now are Syad Ismail Shah and his family and I believe they have really exerted themselves to prevent a rupture. They have all visited India frequently and are

---

* See page 216.

much better acquainted with our power and policy than any other people in Sinde. The advice they have lately given no doubt chiefly proceeds from self advantage, but it might be desirable to retain them in our own interest, which from their avaricious habits could be effectually done by granting to them a small pension for the lives of Syad Ismail Shah (who is now 80 years of age) and his three sons, Tukkee Shah, Sadik Shah and Zynool Abdeen Shah.*

Dealings of the British Government with the Ameers; the possession of Bakhar and Karachi and the march of the British troops along the Indus.†

8. The Governor-General of India to the Secret Committee, 13th March 1839—(. . .) The Division of the Bengal Army, under the command of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton reached the Indus within a week after the force of Shah Shuja-ul Mulk. Permission had then been afforded for the construction of bridges of boats over the two channels of the river between which are situated the island and fort of Bukkur. With the Ameers of Khyrpur, to whom the fortress belongs, I have directed a treaty to be formed receiving them formally under the protection of the British Government and stipulating for the possession of Bukkur, whenever it might be required, during the continuance of defensive operations. This ready and amicable acquisition of so useful a position may be expected to have produced an excellent effect in all the neighbouring countries, for the fort is one of much celebrity. Intelligence had reached me in March 1838 of letters having been written by the two principal Ameers, Meer Noor Mahomed Khan and Meer Nusseer Mahomed Khan to the Shah of Persia professing deference to his power and encouraging his advance; and even at that early period I caused it to be notified to the Ameers that these proceedings could not be tolerated. This warning was not taken and down to the latest period, advances have been continued by the principal Ameers to the Shah of Persia. . . . From all proceedings of this character, one of the Ameers, Meer Sobdar Khan, has held himself free and it was to him, as a friendly ruler at Hyderabad, that I originally looked on the supposition of a change in the

* See the biographical sketch of Ismail Shah in Appendix II and genealogy in Appendix III.

† See pages 223 and 225.

Government being forced upon me. When Colonel Pottinger proceeded to Hyderabad in the course of September last, he found that the feelings of the principal Ameers had been shown to be to the last degree ungrateful and hostile. . . . Colonel Pottinger himself had been insulted and his person exposed to some danger, by the throwing of stones and other missives by the populace of Hyderabad acting on the clandestine instigation or permission of the chiefs. . . . A recommendation was subsequently received from Colonel Pottinger that the British Government should accept a tract of country near Tatta, instead of any money contributions for the expense of the British troops to be stationed in Sinde . . . While this correspondence was in progress the Bombay division under the command of Sir John Keane had landed at the Hujamro mouth of the Indus in the early days of December. No resistance was ventured to his disembarkation, but from the date of his arrival every artifice was resorted to to thwart and impede his movements. . . . At length after the lapse of weeks, Sir John Keane's division had been able to move on to Tatta. . . . Colonel Pottinger had determined to offer to the Ameers a revised treaty. . . . Transcripts of his instructions to his assistant Lieutenant Eastwick, with this draft of treaty to Hyderabad, accompany this address. The reception of Lieutenant Eastwick by the Ameers was in the highest degree unsatisfactory. . . . On the 23rd of January Lieutenant Eastwick with his companions was obliged to leave Hyderabad and proceed to join Sir John Keane's force, which had then reached Jerruck within two marches of the capital. Communications were cut off, letters seized, boatmen and other work-people threatened and every appearance of intended hostility exhibited. At Jerruck Sir John Keane had to wait a few days for the arrival of the boats with his stores and ammunition; and with the prospect of an early assault upon Hyderabad before him, he judged it prudent to call for the aid . . . from the Bengal division, which he then knew to have reached Bukkur. Before, however, his orders had reached Sir Willoughby Cotton, that officer having received authentic intelligence of the imminent hazard of a rupture in Lower Sind had marched with the large force of two brigades of infantry, one brigade of cavalry and a considerable proportion of artillery down the

east bank of the Indus, in the direction of Hyderabad. . . . A portion of the disciplined troops of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk had been also sent down from Shikarpur to occupy Larkhana. . . The Ameers sent a deputation on some date before the 30th January to Colonel Pottinger assenting to all his demands, when they perceived that he was resolved and prepared to enforce them. He here judged it requisite . . . . to secure the payment which we have desired for Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk by making it a new condition that 21 *laks* of rupees should be paid by the Ameers of Hyderabad on this account; ten *laks* immediately and the remainder within some reasonable time to be specified. This stipulation was also at once agreed to. . . . Sir John Keane with his force arrived opposite to Hyderabad on the 3rd or 4th of February, and the treaties were duly signed and delivered by the Ameers and the ten *laks* of rupees made over to Colonel Pottinger without delay. The orders of Sir John Keane, announcing the favourable change, reached Sir Willoughby Cotton on his march southwards and these troops were immediately moved back, crossed over the bridge at Bukkur and concentrated at Shikarpur by the 21st of February. Sir John Keane with his division marched northwards from Hyderabad on the 10th of February; while the events described had been occurring at Hyderabad, two regiments of the reserve force for Sind had proceeded to land at Karachi, Her Majesty's regiment being embarked on board the flagship "Wellesley" in which Sir Frederick Maitland, the Naval Commander-in-Chief, had obligingly afforded it accommodation. The landing of the troops being opposed and a shot fired upon them from a small fort . . . the "Wellesley" opened her batteries and in a very short time the southern or sea face of the fort . . . was levelled with the ground. The troops in the meantime landed from the boats and the garrison of the fort was immediately apprehended. The Governor of the town at once gave over military possession of it by capitulation and we have thus gained the occupancy of a Military post which is likely to become one of much interest and importance. I may be permitted to offer my congratulations to you upon this timely settlement of our relation with Sinde by which our political and military ascendency in that province is now finally declared and confirmed.

9. The Resident in Sind (H. Pottinger) to Lieutenant-Colonel Spiller, Commanding at Tatta, 30th March 1839 :—"However we may regret that the Ameers should devote so large a portion of the very finest parts of their country to such purposes, we must neither forget the severity of our forest laws, when England was further advanced in the scale of civilization than Sind now is. . . . . We must also bear in mind that the Shikárgáhs provide the only amusements the Ameers take any interest in, and of the depth of that interest some notion will be found when I tell you that the preserves are kept up at so great an expense, that, it is said, every deer, their Highnesses shoot in them, costs Rs. 800. Besides this positive and well-known fact, their Highnesses did not hesitate to distinctly avow to me that they value their Shikárgáhs beyond even their families and children, which shows that we cannot at all estimate their anxiety regarding them."

The value of Shikárgáhs in the days of the Mírs.

10. The Political Agent (J. Outram) to the Secretary to the Government of India, 6th December 1840 :—"I have every reason to lament the loss of Meer Noor Mahomed Khan and do so most sincerely both on public and private grounds. Whatever that chief's secret feelings towards the British may have been, certainly his acts latterly were all most friendly and I cannot but place faith in almost the last words the dying chief uttered, solemnly protesting the sincerity of his friendship for the British Government, not only because being then perfectly aware that he had but few hours to live and seeking nothing he could have no motive for deception, but also because I had myself always found his Highness most ready to forward our interests and least ready to welcome reports prejudicial to us, which during late exciting times were so industriously propagated and greedily devoured by those more inimical to us."

Death of Mír Núr Muhammad and his feelings towards the British Government.

11. The Governor-General of India in Council to the Secret Committee, 20th August 1841 :—"It will be seen (from Major Outram's report) that Meer Sher Mahomed Khan has entered into a treaty, by which he binds

Treaty with Mír Sher Mahomed Khan.

himself to pay 50,000 Company's rupees as annual tribute and to submit his territorial disputes with the Ameers of Hyderabad to the decision of the Political Agent . . . . We have intimated to Major Outram the high sense we entertained of his conduct on this occasion and of the friendly spirit with which his endeavours to reconcile the differences of Meer Nuseer Khan and Meer Sher Mahomed Khan had been seconded by Meer Mahomed Khan.

Intrigues of the Mirs against the British Government.

12. The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 8th June 1842:—"I am sorry to notice that Major Outram has detected intrigues on the part of the Ameers of Upper and Lower Sinde, which evince clearly that these chieftains entertained projects of a hostile nature, if any further disasters to our arms in Afghanistan had afforded them a favourable opportunity of attempting to throw off their allegiance to the British Government."

Sir Charles Napier finding a pretext to take some chief towns in Sind.

13. Observations by Sir Charles Napier upon the occupation of Sinde, 17th October 1842:—

"Several Ameers have broken the treaty. I have maintained that we want only a fair pretext to coerce the Ameers and I think the various acts recorded in the return (of complaints) give abundant reason to take Kurrachee, Sukkur, Bukkur, Shikarpore and Sabzulkote for our own, obliging the Ameers to leave a trackway along both banks of the Indus and stipulate for a supply of wood; but at the same time, remitting all tribute and arrears of tribute in favour of those Ameers whose conduct has been correct, and finally enter into a fresh treaty with one of these princes alone as chief and answerable for the others."

Draft of treaty between the British Government and the Mirs of Haidarábád.

14. 4th November 1842—"(1) the Ameers of Hyderabad are relieved from the payment of all tribute to the British Government, which under existing engagements would become due after the 1st of January 1843. (2) The only coin legally current in the dominion of the Ameers of Hyderabad, after the 1st of January 1845, shall be the

Company's rupee and the rupee hereinafter mentioned. (3) The British Government will coin for the Ameers of Hyderabad such number of rupees as they may require from time to time, such rupees bearing on one side the effigy of the sovereign of England with such inscription or device as the British Government may from time to time adopt and on the reverse such inscription or device as the Ameers may prefer. (4) . . . (5) The Ameers in consideration of the above engagement renounce the privilege of coining money and will not exercise the same from the date of the signature of this treaty. (6) With a view to the necessary provision of wood for the use of steamers navigating the Indus and the rivers communicating therewith the British Government shall have the right to fell wood within one hundred yards of both banks of the Indus within the territories of the Ameers. (7) The following places and districts are ceded in perpetuity to the British Government—Kurrachee and Tatta with such arrondissement as may be deemed necessary by Major General Sir Charles Napier . . . (8) All the rights and interests of the Ameers or of any one of them in Sabzulkote and in all the territory intervening between the present frontier of Bahawalpore and the town of Roree are ceded in perpetuity to his Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpore, the ever faithful ally and friend of the British Government. (9) To the Meer Sobdar Khan, who has constantly evinced fidelity to his engagements and attachment to the British, is ceded territory producing half a lac of annual revenue, such cession being made in consideration of the loss he will sustain by the transfer of Kurrachee to the British Government and as a reward for his good conduct. (10) . . . . (11) . . . . (12) . . . ."

In the draft of a similar treaty with the Ameers of Khyrpur the first two articles are the following:—"(1) The pergunnah of Bhoong Bhara and the third part of the district of Subzulkote and the villages of Gotki, Maladee, Choonga, Dadoola and Uzeezpur and on the territories of the Ameers of Khairpore or any of them intervening between the present dominions of his Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpore and the town and district of Roree are ceded in perpetuity to his Highness the Nawab. (2) The town of Sukkur with such arrondissement as shall be deemed necessary by Major General Sir Charles

Napier and the island of Bukkur and the adjoining islets and the town of Roree with such arrondissement as may be deemed necessary by Major General Sir Charles Napier are ceded in perpetuity to the British Government."

15. Sir Charles Napier to the Governor-General, 29th December 1842:—"And now, my Lord, I have to tell you that Mir Rustam has decamped yesterday morning. I met Ali Moorad the night before and desired him to say that I would pay my respects to his Highness the next day, and the next day I heard of his flight. I can only account for this in one or two ways—first, that Mir Rustam, who is a timid man and has all along fancied that I want to make him prisoner, believed that the time for this step had arrived, and that his brother and I were about to execute our conspiracy against him; or second, that Ali Moorad drove his brother to this step. Mir Rustam has resigned the turban to his brother Ali Moorad in the most formal manner, writing his resignation in the Kuran before all the religious men collected to witness the resignation at Dejee."

Mir Rustam Khán's flight.

16. Sir Charles Napier to the Governor-General, 13th January 1843:—"I arrived here yesterday. . . . . This fortress is exceedingly strong against any force without artillery. The walls are 40 feet high; one tower is 50 and built of burned bricks; it is a square with eight round towers. . . . Within it is a vast quantity of powder. There are some bomb-proof chambers. . . . . When I reflected that the existence of Imámgarh can only serve to foster confidence in the Ameers of both Sindes when discontented or rebellious, and will, sooner or later, force us to another and more perilous march perhaps, I made up my mind to blow it down. It belongs to Ali Moorad who consents to its destruction. I have therefore undermined it. The vast quantity of powder, which we cannot remove, will be better destroyed. It is well stored with grain, which I have distributed as rations.

The fort of Imámgarh blown up by Sir Charles Napier.

17. Notes of conference with the Ameers of Sind on the 8th and 9th and again on the 12th February 1843.—"After the usual preliminaries Major Outram produced the Persian copies of the Draft treaties formerly submitted to the Ameers by Sir Charles Napier and requested their Highnesses to apply their seals in his presence, as previously pledged to do by their vakeels. A long discussion then ensued regarding Meer Rustam's affairs, they insisting that Major Outram had full authority to investigate the case . . . . The Ameers then endeavoured to induce Major Outram to declare that in the event of Meer Rustam proving everything he had advanced, his chiefship and what had been made over from Upper Sind Ameers to Ali Moorad would be restored. Major Outram replied that it was not in his power to say what would be done. . . . The Ameers said Meer Rustam could and would prove all he had asserted with regard to his having been confined by Ali Moorad, having, when in confinement, had his seal forcibly taken from him, having been induced to fly by Ali Moorad when the General was coming to Dejeekote, etc., etc. Major Outram said that this case rested with the General. . . . After long urging this point the Ameers of Hyderabad applied their seals to the draft of the new Treaty, as did Meer Rustam and Meer Mahomed of Khairpore. . . Major Outram then proceeded to Meer Sobdar's Durbar, where that Ameer and Meer Hoossein Ali sealed the treaty without demur. On returning home, after leaving the fort, Major Outram and his companions (Captain Brown and the officers of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment) had to pass through a dense crowd of Beloochees, who gave unequivocal evidence of bad feeling in their manner and expressions, but were kept from giving further vent to their feelings by a strong escort of horse the Ameers sent under some of their influential chiefs. After getting clear of the crowd Major Outram was informed that one of the officers in his company had been struck with a stone." . . . .

The draft of the last treaty is signed by the Mirs after much hesitation

18. Major Outram to Sir Charles Napier on board the "Planet", 15 miles above Hyderabad, 6. p. m., 15th February 1843:—"Sir, my despatches of the last few days

The attack on the Residency.

will have led you to expect that my earnest endeavours to effect an amicable arrangement with the Ameers of Sinde would fail; and it is with much regret I have now to report that their Highnesses have commenced hostilities by attacking my residence this morning, which after four hours' most gallant defence by my honorary escort, commanded by Captain Conway, I was compelled to evacuate, in consequence of our ammunition running short. . . At 9 a.m. this morning, a dense body of cavalry and infantry (ascertained to have amounted to 8000 men under Meer Shadad Khan, Meer Mahomed Khan, Nawab Ahmed Khan Lugharee and many principal chiefs) took posts on three sides of the Agency compound (the fourth being defended by the "Planet" steamer about 500 yards distant) in the gardens and houses, which immediately commanded the inclosure. A hot fire was opened by the enemy and continued incessantly for four hours, but all their attempts to enter the Agency inclosure were frustrated by Captain Conway's able distribution of his small band under the gallant example of Lieutenant Harding, Captains Green and Wills and Brown. . . Our ammunition being limited to 40 rounds per man, the officers directed their whole attention to reserving their fire and keeping their men close under cover . . . consequently great execution was done with trifling expenditure of ammunition and with little loss (the enemy losing upwards of 60 killed and more wounded, among the latter Meer Mahomed Khan). Our hope of receiving a reinforcement and a supply of ammunition by the "Satellite" steamer (hourly expected) being disappointed on the arrival of that vessel without either, shortly after the commencement of the attack, it was decided at 12 a.m. to retire to the steamer, while still we had sufficient ammunition to fight the vessel up the river. Accordingly I requested Captain Conway to keep the enemy at bay for one hour, while the property was removed. . . After delivering their first loads on board, however, the camp followers were so terrified at the enemy's cross fire . . . that none could be persuaded to return, except a few of the officers' servants, with whose assistance but little could be removed during the limited time we could afford; consequently much had to be abandoned. . . After the expiration of another hour (during which the enemy despairing of otherwise effecting

their object, had brought six guns to bear upon us) we took measures to evacuate the Agency. Captain Conway called in his posts, and all being united, retired in body, covered by a few skirmishers, as deliberately as on parade (carrying off our slain and wounded) which and the fire from the steam boats deterred the enemy from pressing on us as they might have done. All being embarked I then directed Mr. Acting Commander Miller, Commanding the "Satellite" steamer, to proceed with his vessel to the wood station, three miles up the river, on the opposite bank, to secure a sufficiency of fuel for our purposes ere it should be destroyed by the enemy, while I remained with the "Planet" to take off the barge that was moored to the shore. This being a work of some time, during which a hot fire was opened on the vessel from three guns, besides small arms. . . . The "Satellite" was also exposed to three guns in her progress up to wood station, one of which she dismounted by her fire. The vessels were followed by large bodies for about three miles, occasionally opening their guns upon us to no purpose; since then we have pursued our voyage up the Indus, about fifteen miles, without molestation, and purpose to-morrow morning anchoring off Muttaree, where I expect to find your camp. Our casualties amount to two men of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment and one camp follower killed; and Mr. Conductor Kiely, Mr. Carlisle, Agency clerk, two of the steamer's crew, four of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, two camp followers wounded, and four camp followers missing; total three killed, ten wounded and four missing.—I have, &c., J. Outram."

Sir Charles Napier's account of the battle of Miáni.

19. Sir Charles Napier to the Governor-General, Miáni, 6 miles from Hyderabad, February 1843.—"My Lord, the forces under my command have gained a decisive victory over the army of the Ameers of Upper and Lower Sinde. A detailed account of the various circumstances which led to this action does not belong to the limited space of a hasty despatch. I therefore begin with the transactions belonging to the battle. On the 14th instant the whole body of the Ameers, assembled in full Durbar, formally affixed their seals to the draft treaty. On leaving the Durbar, Major Outram and his companions

were in great peril: a plot had been laid to murder them all. They were saved by the guards of the Ameers; but the next day (the 15th) the residence of Major Outram was attacked by 8000 of the Ameer's troops, headed by one or more of the Ameers. I heard of it at Hala, at which place the fearless and distinguished Major Outram joined me, with his brave companions in the stern and extraordinary defence of his residence against so overwhelming a force, accompanied by six pieces of cannon. On the 16th I marched to Muttaree. Having ascertained that the Ameers were in position at Miáni (ten miles distance) to the number of 22000 men, and well knowing that a delay for reinforcements would both strengthen their confidence and add to their numbers, already seven times that which I commanded, I resolved to attack them, and we marched at 4 a.m. on the morning of the 17th. At 8 o'clock the advanced guard discovered their camp; at 9 we formed in order of battle, about 2800 men of all arms and twelve pieces of artillery. We were now within range of the enemy's guns, and fifteen pieces of artillery opened upon us and were answered by our cannon. The enemy were very strongly posted; woods were on their flanks which I did not think could be turned. These two woods were joined by the dry bed of the river Fulaillee, which had a high bank. The bed of the river was nearly straight and about 1200 yards in length. Behind this and in both woods were the enemy posted. In front of their extreme right, and on the edge of the wood, was a village. Having made the best examination of their position, which so short a time permitted, the artillery was posted on the right of the line, and some skirmishers of infantry, with the Sinde irregular horse, were sent in front, to try and make the enemy show his force more distinctly; we then advanced from the right in echelon of battalions, refusing the left to save it from the fire of the village. The 9th Bengal Light Cavalry formed the reserve in rear of the left wing, and the Poona Horse, together with four companies of infantry, guarded the baggage. In this order of battle we advanced as at a review, across a fine plain, swept by the cannon of the enemy. The artillery and Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment in line formed the leading echelon, the 25th Native Infantry the second, the 12th Native Infantry the third

and the 1st Grenadier Native Infantry the fourth. The enemy was 1000 yards from our line, which soon traversed the intervening space. Our fire of musketry opened at about 100 yards from the bank, in reply to that of the enemy, and in a few minutes the engagement became general along the bank of the river, on which the combatants fought, for about three hours or more, with great fury, man to man. Then, my Lord, was seen the superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword and shield and matchlock. The brave Beloochees, first discharging their matchlocks and pistols, dashed over the banks with desperate resolution, but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of the musket and bayonet. At one time, my Lord, the courage and numbers of the enemy against the 22nd, the 25th and the 12th Regiment bore heavily in that part of the battle. There was no time to be lost, and I sent orders to the cavalry to force the right of the enemy's line. This order was very gallantly executed by the 9th Bengal Cavalry and the Sinde Horse, for the struggle on our right and centre was, at that moment, so fierce that I could not go to the left. In this charge the 9th Light Cavalry took a standard and several pieces of artillery, and the Sinde Horse took the enemy's camp from which a vast body of their cavalry slowly retired fighting. Lieutenant Fitzgerald gallantly pursued for two miles, and, I understand, slew three of the enemy in a single combat. . . . The artillery made great havoc among the dense masses of the enemy and dismounted several of their guns. The whole of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, standards and camp, with considerable stores and some treasure, were taken. Meer Roostam Khan, Meer Nuseer Khan, and Meer Wullee Mahomed, of Khyrpore, Meer Nuseer Khan, Meer Shahdad Khan and Meer Hoosein Ali Khan, all of Hyderabad, came into my camp and surrendered their swords as prisoners of war. Their misfortunes are of their own creation, but as they are great, I returned to them their swords. They await your Lordship's orders. Their Highnesses have surrendered Hyderabad and I shall occupy it to-morrow. It is not to be supposed that so hard fought an engagement could be sustained without considerable loss on both sides. That of the British force is 256 men killed and wounded. The enemy is generally supposed to have lost 5000.

Major Teesdale, while animating his sepoys, dashed on horseback over the bank amidst the enemy, and was instantly shot and sabred, dying like a glorious soldier. Major Jackson . . . Captains Meade, Tew, and Cookson, with Lieutenant Wood, all fell honourably. Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather, Major Wyllie, Captains Tucker and Conway, Lieutenants Harding and Phayre were all wounded . . . . I ought to have observed that I had the night before the action detached Major Outram in the steamers, with 200 sepoys, to set fire to the wood in which we understood the enemy's left flank was posted . . . However, the enemy had moved about eight miles to their right during the night." . . . .

Sir Charles Napier's account of the battle of Dubbah.

20. Sir Charles Napier to the Governor General, Dubbah, four miles from Hyderabad, March 24, 1843:—"My Lord, the forces under my command marched from Hyderabad this morning at day-break. About half past 8 o'clock, we discovered and attacked the army under the personal command of Meer Shere Mahomed, consisting of 20000 men of all arms, strongly posted behind one of those large nullahs, by which this country is intersected in all directions. After a combat of about three hours, the enemy was wholly defeated with considerable slaughter and the loss of all his standards and cannon. His position was nearly a straight line; the nullah was formed by two deep parallel ditches, one 20 feet, the other 42 feet wide and 17 deep, which had been for a long distance freshly scarfed, and a banquette made behind the bank expressly for the occasion. To ascertain the extent of his line was extremely difficult, as his left did not appear to be satisfactorily defined, but he began moving to his right, when he perceived that the British force outflanked him in that direction. Believing that his movement had drawn him from that part of the nullah which had been prepared for defence, I hoped to attack his right with less difficulty, and Major Leslie's troop of Horse Artillery was ordered to move forward and endeavour to take the nullah; the 9th Light Cavalry and Poona Horse advancing in line, on the left of the artillery, who was supported on the right by Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, the latter being, however, at first considerably retired to admit of the oblique fire of the Leslie's troop. The whole of the artillery now

opened upon the enemy's position and the B
advanced in echelons from the left, Her Maje
Regiment leading the attack. The enemy
perceived to move from his centre in considera
to his left, apparently retreating, unable to su
cross fire of the British Artillery; on seeing whi
Stack, at the head of the 3rd Cavalry, under co
Captain Delamain, and the Sind Horse, under
of Captain Jacob, made a brilliant charge
enemy's left flank, crossing the nullah, and cutt
the retreating enemy for several miles. While
passing on the right, Her Majesty's 22nd
gallantly led by Major Poole who commanded th
and Captain George, who commanded the corps
the nullah on the left with great gallantry, and
to add, with considerable loss. The brave
marched up to the nullah under a heavy fire
locks, without returning a shot, till within 40
the intrenchment, and then stormed it like Britis
The intrepid Lieutenant Coote first mounted th
seized one of the enemy's standards, and wa
wounded, while waving it and cheering on
Meanwhile, the Poona Horse under Captain Ta
9th Cavalry, under Major Story, turned the ene
flank, pursuing and cutting down the fugitives f
miles. Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment was well
by the batteries commanded by Captains Willo
Hutt, which crossed their fire with that of Ma
Then came the 2nd Brigade, under command
Woodburn, bearing down into action with
coolness. It consisted of the 25th, 21st and
ment under the command of Captains Jackso
and Fisher, respectively: these regiments wer
sustained by the fire of Captain Whitlie's batt
right of which were the 8th and 1st Regime
Majors Brown and Clibborn: these two corps
with the regularity of a review, up to the intr
their commanders, with considerable exertion
their fire, on seeing that a portion of the Sinde
3rd Cavalry, in charging the enemy, had got
the Brigade. The battle was decided by the
Horse Artillery and Her Majesty's 22nd Regi
Beloochee infantry and artillery fought well: th
made no stand; and 5000 disciplined soldiers

itish line
sty's 22nd
was now
ble bodies
stain the
ch Major
mand of
command
pon the
ing down
this was
Regiment,
e brigade,
attacked
, I regret
battalion
of match-
paces of
h soldiers.
e rampart,
s severely
his men.
it and the
ny's right
or several
supported
ughby and
jor Leslie.
of Major
excellent
2th Regi-
n, Stevens
e strongly
ery, on the
nts, under
advanced
enchments,
stopping
Horse and
n front of
troops of
ment. The
eir cavalry
were not to

be long r sisted by a barbarian force, even though that force wer e nearly five to one. From the accounts which have con e in, since writing the above, there is reason to believe t at the loss of the enemy has been very great: about 50 0 bodies have been counted upon the field of battle, a d it is said that the neighbouring villages are filled wi h dead and wounded men. Eleven pieces of cannon w ere taken in position on the nullah and seventeen standards. It gives me great satisfaction to say that some pri oners have been taken; and though the number is small, t is still some advance towards a civilised mode of warfare. . . . We are at present employed in collecting the w ounded Beloochees within our reach, in order to render th m medical assistance. I have deeply to regret the loss o f the brave and excellent Captain Garret of the 9th Light Cavalry and also the fall of Lieutenant Smith of the Bo mbay Artillery. . . . Many of the Sindian people (w ho are all in great delight at the destruction of their Bel oochee oppressors) have come into camp from different parts and bring assurance that the Beloochee force is w holly dispersed and that Meer Shere Mahomed has fled i to the desert, with his family and about forty followers; but as Imamgarh has been destroyed, the heat will soon force him to quit his temporary refuge, where the re is no protection from the sun. He will therefore prob bly endeavour to reach Multan. I have written to his Hig hness Ali Moorad to arrest his progress in that direction, if possible, and to make him prisoner. Three Beloochee chiefs fell in the action; one of them was the great pro noter of the war—Hoche Mahomed Seedee, and I have eve ry reason to believe that not another shot will be fired in Si nd.—I have, &c.—C. J. Napier, Major-General, Command ing in Sind and Beloochistan."

21. Sir Charles Napier to Meer Shere Mahomed, Hyderabad, April 7, 1843.—"Chief, if you will give back to Aga Khan the plunder you took from Jerruck, and come in a nd make your salaam to me, I will pardon, and be your f riend, and your *jagheers* shall be respected. C. J. Napi er." Hyderabad, May, 2, 1843.—"Chief, come and make your salaam, and you shall receive from the English Government all you held under the Ameers; and I will pla ce the sword which you have sent me again

A'ghá Khán plundered and Mir Sher Muhammad called to surrender.

in your hands that you may fight as bravely for my nation as you did against us when you served the Ameers. C. J. Napier." Hyderabad, May, 6, 1843.—"Ameer, you never disbanded your army, as I desired you to do. You sent a most insolent letter to me by vakeels. You offered that if I would capitulate, you would let me quit the country; I gave your vakeels the only answer such a letter deserved, namely, that I would answer you with my cannon. Soon after that, your brother sent to me a letter, offering to assassinate you; I sent the letter to you. In my letter, I told you that you were a brave enemy, that I sent you the proposition of your brother to put you on your guard. I did not say that you were not an enemy. If Your Highness cannot read, you should get trusty people to read for you. Your Highness has broken treaties; you have made war without the slightest provocation, and before a fortnight passes you shall be punished as you deserve. I will hunt you into the desert and into the mountains; if you wish to save yourself, you must surrender within five days.—C. N. Napier."

Testimony to Mirza Khusrobég's respectability, and his ill-treatment at the hands of the English.

22. Meer Nusseer Khan to the Governor of Bombay, April 28, 1843:—"Meerza Khoosroo Beg, whom former Ameers treated as their child, was beaten and disgraced. His house and that of Bushee were plundered." Meer Nusseer Khan to the Court of Directors:—"The late Meer Kurum Ali Khan and Meer Moorad Ali treated Meerza Khoosroo as a son. He was imprisoned with us. One day he was taken to the fort and charged with having misdirected them to the spot, where was the treasure of the late Meer Kurum Ali Khan, for which they had him disgraced and flogged until he fainted. On his recovering, he was tied up for two hours in the fort, and afterwards brought back to the place where I was imprisoned." . . . Observation by Sir Charles Napier on the Memorials of the Ameers. Hyderabad, June 12, 1843. . . . "Meerza Khoosroo Beg was not beaten, nor was any body else; but being in a passion, he seized Major McPherson (who had neither said nor done anything to him) by the throat, and was, of course, instantly made a prisoner. . . . "

23. Meer Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad to the Court of Directors. Sassoor, September 22, 1843.—"I formerly sent you a short account of my history, which has probably reached you, and acquainted you with most of what has befallen me. I write again, to inform you that in the time of the late Meer Gholám Alí Khan, Meerza Nusseer was deputed to Calcutta, and brought back a treaty bearing a seal of the then Governor-General, which treaty was respected as long as that Ameer lived. Subsequently, in the time of the late Meer Kurum Ali Khan and my father Meer Moorad Ali Khan, Meer Ismail Shah was sent on a mission to Governor Elphinstone, and concluded with him a treaty which was observed until the death of the Ameers above mentioned. In the time of my father, Meer Moorad Ali Khan, Colonel Alexander Burnes, being desirous to proceed through Sinde, by the river Indus, on a visit to Runjeet Sing, arrived at Kurrachee, whence he wrote several letters requesting permission to advance by that route, but as this had not been stipulated for in any former treaty, my father refused to comply, on which I wrote to him (Sir A. Burnes) and told him to leave the property in his charge at Kurrachee and to come himself to Hyderabad, whence he should be allowed to pass up the river; he came accordingly; but my father told him he could not be permitted to proceed up the river, and that he had written to him to that effect at Kurrachee, asking him, moreover, why he had come to Hyderabad without his (my father's) permission. Sir A. Burnes replied that he had come to Hyderabad as desired by his son Meer Nusseer Khan, who had written to say he would permit him to pass up the river. My father was greatly displeased at this, and asked me why I had consented to what it was impossible for him to grant. I replied that I wrote to him for our advantage, and that I should certainly allow him to proceed up the river; and through my representation my father acceded to his request. A full account of this is given in Sir A. Burnes' Travels, and also in Government records, so that I am the individual who first opened the Indus to the English. After this Colonel Pottinger arrived at Hyderabad and concluded a treaty which opened the river to the merchants of the neighbouring countries, and allowed their boats and merchandise to

Mir Nasir Khán's account of the whole affair and his explanation about his conduct.

pass and re-pass duty-free; it was stipulated that this treaty should bind the contracting parties for ever. A copy of it, bearing the seal of the then Governor-General, was given to my father, who made it over to me, and said he had made it to ensure the stability of my affairs. On the death of my father, the said Colonel Pottinger sent for a friendly letter from the Governor-General and gave it to me; in it there was no mention made of oppressing us, or our own country. With pure intentions, I applied for a British Resident to be appointed at Hyderabad, and on the English army advancing to Cabool, I incurred the ill-will of the Beloochee tribes and the enmity of the Afghans, by having, through my friendship for the English, allowed their army to pass through Sinde; yet I preferred the friendship of the English to every other consideration. I have read in books that the Christian religion commands you to cherish, and not alienate, your friends,—friendship being a tree which produces good actions: relying on this I was indifferent about the displeasure of the Beloochees and the hostility of the Afghans. My late brother Meer Noor Mahomed Khan and myself undertook to provide boats, camels, provisions, wood and every other kind of supplies for the army and proclaimed to all the Beloochee tribes, that should any of them be dissatisfied with our alliance with the British and take to plundering the property of the army they should incur our displeasure and be severely punished: none of them dared to disobey our orders. When Sir John Keane arrived with his army at Jerruck he deputed Mr. Eastwick with a memorandum stating that he required 21 *laks* of rupees; of this sum I was required immediately to pay 7 *laks* and the other 14 *laks* were to be paid by the late Meer Noor Mahomed Khan and Meer Meer Mahomed Khan equally. We were also called upon to pay 3 *laks* of rupees annually to the British Government; this was the immediate result of my faithful services to the English and Sir J. Keane, having arrived unopposed at Jerruck about twelve *coss* from Hyderabad, began, in violation of treaties, to oppress us and to assume a hostile attitude; as I was helpless I paid the money, knowing well, however, that it was taken from me unjustly by order of the Governor-General. In the treaty concluded with Sir Henry Pottinger, and bearing the seal of the Governor-General,

it was affirmed that our friendship would last to the latest posterity and that no oppression should be exercised on us, or on our country; in defiance of this, why were we required to pay 21 *laks* of rupees at one time and the sum of 3 *laks* annually? If you say that it was on account of Shah Shooja, I reply that the said Shah had written on a Koran, which he presented to me, that he would never act to the detriment of us, or our country. I answer again, that during Shah Shooja's sojourn of several years at Loodiana, nothing was demanded from us on his account; but, setting this aside, when Shah Shooja, finding that he was powerful at Cabool, threw off his allegiance to the English, did he inform me on what account and for what purpose the tribute was exacted from me? If you exacted it on your own account, you did so in breach of the articles of the treaty. You are discriminating and just; examine and judge for yourself whether our treatment has been just or unjust. When Sir John Keane's army advanced towards Cabool, Colonel Pottinger framed and concluded with us a treaty of twelve articles, which he said would be permanent as the wall of Alexander, and would last for ever. Thank God that, from the first treaty to the last, I have not infringed even one of their articles; copies of these treaties must be in the Government records and a reference to them will satisfy you whether I state falsehoods or tell the truth. When Major Outram was appointed Resident in Sinde, I acted agreeably to his wishes, and as long as he remained at Hyderabad, everything proceeded satisfactorily, until he was succeeded by Sir Charles Napier, who after an interview with me at Hyderabad, proceeded to Sukkur. Shortly after, the Assistant (Mr. Mylne), who was stationed at Hyderabad, sent off all the property from the Residency and prepared to leave. I sent my Moonshee to him and inquired the reason of his leaving; his reply was that the Ameers found the presence of a British Resident disagreeable and that Major Outram was superseded by Sir Charles Napier. I remarked that, without a Resident, our affairs would be suspended. Mr. Mylne replied that I should write and explain this to Sir Charles. When he went away, no person succeeded. I appointed people to take care of the Residency, and had the trees, flowers, etc., in its garden, watered at my own expense, until a soldier came there to take charge of them. On the 5th Zilkad,

Mr. Stanley arrived at Hyderabad with a treaty from the General contravening all former treaties, which perfectly confounded me, and I said to Mr. Stanley that this treaty meant not more or less than a desire to usurp our country. On what account does the General wish to inflict upon me so heavy a loss? He replied "You wrote a letter to Dewan Sawun Mull of Mooltan, and another to the chief of the Beebruck tribe, expressing your enmity to the British Government." I answered "I did not write a letter to Sawun Mull to that effect, but I may have written to him about some timber I required for building, and even that letter was shown by me to the British Resident, or his Assistant. I have never sent a letter without informing the Resident, to whom I also showed the reply I received. This is agreeable to treaty; and as regards the chief of the tribe of Beebruck, I have never, to this time, had the slightest correspondence with him; who and what is he, and where lies his country with reference to mine, that I should hold any correspondence with him?" Mr. Stanley replied that he would give me a steamer to convey vakeels from me to the General, at Sukkur, to arrange with him. I accordingly deputed Akhund Buchal and Syad Saad Ali and sent them by land to Sukkur, in order to prove to Sir Charles Napier that my statement to Mr. Stanley was true. After their departure agreeably to the General's angry writing, I sent Meerza Khoosroo Beg and Mahomed Yusoof with full powers to treat and our seals. They met the General at Nowshera; but he, not deeming it fit to have our seals affixed to the treaty at that place, wrote and delivered to them letters desiring us to bring Meer Roostam Khan to Hyderabad as Major Outram would soon be there to settle his (Meer Roostum's) affairs, when he would also have our seals affixed to the treaty and that he (Major Outram) was invested with full powers on the part of Government to treat with us. Meer Roostum and the vakeels accordingly came to Hyderabad, and Major Outram also arriving there on the 8th of Moharram (8th February) sent me, that very day, a memorandum relative to the proposed treaty. I immediately sent Mirza Khoosroo Beg and Mahomed Khan with my seal to Major Outram; and, in his presence, they affixed it to the *kuboolyatnamah* (a document in which the Ameers agreed to sign the treaty when pre-

sented to them), and returned it. I sent also a message to Major Outram, that, as I had signed the *kuboolyat-namah* without delay, he would kindly contrive so that the General should return with his army from the place he was now encamped at. The Major replied, "that this was the reason he wished me to agree to the *kuboolyat-namah*, as of course the treaty would cause some delay; and as you have now signed the former, I am quite satisfied. If you will send me a shootur suwar, I will despatch an officer to the General to inform him that you have agreed to the treaty, and of the manner in which affairs are proceeding at Hyderabad, so that the army may not advance further." I accordingly sent a camel to the Major; and about 8 p. m. he sent to my house an officer. As it was in the first ten days of Moharram, I was engaged in the offices prescribed by my religion for that period, when a servant came and informed me that a gentleman was at my house. I immediately went to him and learnt from him that he had come for a swifter camel than the one I had previously sent him, as he said he must reach the General speedily. I gave him a better camel and sent with him four or five Beloochees to point out the road and to escort him. Next day (9th February) Major Outram visited me and said that he had sent an officer to the General, whose arrival there would stop the advance of the army. The 10th was the day of Ashoora (anniversary of Hoossein's death) and consequently no business was transacted, nor had I any intercourse with Major Outram on that day. On the 11th the camelman, who accompanied the officer, returned and told us that he had left him in the General's camp at Sukkrund, and that, immediately after the officer arrived there, although there was no previous preparation for a march, the General set out with his army, and marched to Kootul Synda, where he halted. On the evening of the 12th Major Outram came to me, and I mentioned to him what the camel-rider had told me. The Major desired me to affix my seal to the treaty which he had brought with him, and to get ready a camel-rider to take a letter from him to the General who would halt, and fall back with the army, on hearing that the treaty was signed. The seals were immediately affixed to the treaty. It was stated in that treaty that the fort and territory of Subzul was disjoined from my dominions. The revenues

of Kurrachee were divided into four shares, three of which belonged to myself, Meer Mahomed Khan and Meer Shadad Khan, and were valued at Rs. 25,000 a year, each share giving a total of Rs. 75,000, which sum was to be taken in lieu of tribute to that amount; and the port of Kurrachee made over to the English. Meer Meer Mahomed Khan, Meer Shadad Khan and myself were also to make over to Meer Sobdar Khan, for his share (one-fourth of the revenues of Kurrachee), land valued at Rs. 50,000 a year. I replied that "it was stipulated in former treaties that the English would protect the country of the Ameers; instead of which, you are assigning it to another; and as regards Kurrachee, as you value one share of its revenues at Rs. 50,000, how does it happen that you estimate the other three shares, belonging to Meer Mahomed Khan, Meer Shadad Khan and myself, at Rs. 25,000 each; what justice is there in this?" Helpless, I affixed my seal to the treaty and gave it him (Major Outram). I afterwards remarked that he might take the tract of country belonging to Meer Roostum Khan, which lies between Subzal and Roree, leaving to him the remainder of his dominions, to which Major Outram replied that it rested with Sir Charles Napier. I entreated him vehemently on this subject; and, seizing the skirt of his garment, implored him not to suffer Meer Roostum Khan, who was an old man of eighty-five years, to become a homeless wanderer, but to permit him to retain the remainder of his dominions if only to prevent disturbances. The Major again replied that it was not in his power, but he would mention it to the General. When the Beloochees threatened to rise in arms, in consequence of the ejection of Meer Roostum Khan, intelligence arrived that Sir Charler Napier had imprisoned a Murree chief, named Hyat Khan, without any apparent cause; on which some of the Beloochees, who were at Hyderabad, assembled and took a solemn oath, resolving to attack Major Outram on his return from the fort to his Residency. I was informed of their intentions; it was then twilight. As the Major was a friend who was dear to me as my own life, I sent, in consequence of the ferment amongst the Beloochees, Meer Jan Khan, Hajee Ghulam Mahomed, and ten or twelve other nobles of my court to accompany him; they after escorting him to the Residency, returned and told me that they had seen

parties of Beloochees ready for mischief at two or three places on the road, and had sent them away. On hearing this I sent to Major Outram a verbal message by Moonshee Madhajee and also wrote to him informing him of it, as Major Outram had promised me to write to the General, to request him not to advance and to send the letter by one of my camel-riders. He did so that night. On the 13th I endeavoured to restrain, by counsel, by force and by reproaches, the Beloochees, and urged them not to excite disturbances, as I had signed the treaty and the Major had written to the General to beg he would not advance, and that this request would be attended to. I asked them what it would take out of their pockets my having agreed to the treaty? On the morning of the 14th the camel-rider, who conveyed the Major's letter to the General, returned and brought intelligence that the General, on receiving Major Outram's letter, prepared to advance. My Moonshee Moolram, in Sir Charles Napier's camp, sent me a letter to the same purport as the camel-rider had stated. On hearing this news, the Beloochees marched out of the town and encamped on the banks of the Fulaillee, and many of the chiefs came to me and requested me to join them; I told them I had signed the treaty, and how then could I fight? As Sir Charles Napier had proclaimed that if any of our followers joined Meer Roostum Khan, we should be held responsible, and considered equally guilty as if we joined him, I reflected that even if the Beloochees went without me, the blame would fall upon me, as declared by the General; I was at a loss how to act; I saw that it was perfectly hopeless to attempt to fight with the English, and I knew that the General, notwithstanding I had agreed to the treaty, was fast approaching; I was averse to the Beloochees setting out from the town, and to their excitement from the first, but on reflection I thought it best to join them on the Fulaillee and to endeavour to allay their excitement, hoping that my presence would gratify them, and that they might thereby be induced to desist from their hostile intentions. With this expectation I went to the Belooch encampment and stayed there day and night counselling and advising them until I gained them over; next morning I intended to depute an experienced vakeel to the General, to entreat him not to have recourse to force, but to settle everything in a friendly manner.

I was about to appoint a vakeel when word was brought to me that the General, with his army, had reached the village of Dost Mahomed Khidmutgar, and having taken it, was coming on. He immediately after attacked the Belooch posts, and I heard the noise of cannon. I had hardly time to mount before the action became general. Before the two British Officers rode up to reconnoitre; I would not allow the Beloochees to fire at them, as I hoped everything would be arranged without fighting; but I soon discovered my mistake. Amidst showers of balls, by the will of God, many of the Beloochees were killed, and others fled. I remained with 20 horsemen; at length in amazement at the power of destiny, I returned to Hyderabad, where before evening a fresh force of 10 or 12,000 Beloochees had assembled, also some of the fugitives; but as I felt assured that after dispersing them the General would approve my sincerity, I went to him of my own accord next morning; I did not even send away my treasure or family, as I was confident of being recompensed for my fidelity; and taking off my sword delivered it into his hands. He kindly returned it to me and buckled it round my waist, using many consoling expressions, and telling me that in 25 days my affairs would be satisfactorily settled, and that I should be placed in Hyderabad as formerly; Major Outram was present at the time. Next morning I rode with the General to the camp and presented to him the guns which were under the charge of Moosa (the Armenian or) the *Ferungee*. The commotion amongst the Beloochees was occasioned by the arrival of Meer Roostum at Hyderabad and the seizure of Hyat Khan, the Murree Chief, and the cause of all the bloodshed. From the first I was opposed to Meer Roostum Khan visiting Hyderabad, as I believed it would cause the disturbance, which the seizure of Hyat Khan heightened; and his coming there was at the sole desire of the General. When General Napier was at Khyrpore and Dejee-ka-Kot, I wrote to him to say that it would be better if he came to Hyderabad with a few men to gratify me with a meeting, and spend a few days with me in shooting game, and that then I should comply with his demands; but that I was afraid, if he came with an army, the Beloochees, who were furious on account of Meer Roostum Khan's ejection, would excite a commotion which would bring ruin on themselves and

others. My advice was not attended to. If the General says he conquered Sinde, I reply that as we were tributaries and subjects of the English for many years, he can hardly claim a victory over his own subjects. Truly his slaughter of the people of Sinde and plundering their property was at the expense of the Queen of England. The day after I arrived in camp with Sir C. Napier, Moonshee Ali Akbar was sent to me with a message that the General wanted some of my people to be stationed, with a few of his own men, in Hyderabad, so that the townspeople might be protected from all injury. As long as Major Outram remained there, all was tranquil, but in a few days he left for Bombay. The day after his departure Moonshee Ali Akbar came with a message from the General, who wished to go and inspect the fort of Hyderabad, and required a few trustworthy people along with him. Accordingly I sent Akhoond Buchal, Bahadur Khidmatgar and Moonshee Metharam; again Moonshee Ali Akbar returned and asked for keys of the toshakhana (a depository wherein valuables are kept) in order to obtain all the treasure and property. I told him to do as he pleased, but if he took them according to the catalogue they would get everything, otherwise others would rush in and take whatever they could lay their hands upon. My counsel was not listened to; at last Mr. Fallon and Col. Pattle and Major Reid and several other officers, with two regiments of cavalry and infantry, entered the fort and seized on all the treasures, gold, silver, swords, matchlocks, knives, daggers, shields, and other property, such as jewels, and what else belonged to our establishment, costly fabrics, Korans and books, horses and camels and mules, saddles of gold and silver, utensils of copper and silver, everything in fact of the value of a needle; so complete was the plunder that precious stones were falling out of the bosoms of the sepoys, and they were selling gold, jewels and other valuables in the city. The work of plunder was continued for seven days; the first day they rushed into the seraglio of the late Meer Kurum Ali Khan; and the occupants of the seraglio, for fear of their lives and shame lest they should be exposed to the gaze of intruders, abandoning their houses fled on foot from the fort. Afterwards the seraglios of the other Ameers were entered by the British troops; and their inmates, who had never before crossed the threshold of the seraglio,

fled on foot from the fort; the sepoys who were at the gates, on seeing a woman with ornaments on her person, immediately stripped them off, so that those who would avoid exposure threw away their jewels, taking with them only the clothes on their backs. The officers carried off even our cots and bedding, leaving us nothing but the ground. I had taken to the seraglio the books and clothes they (the officers) had given me the day they entered the fort, all of which were again taken from me the day I left; also the swords of my sons, Meer Hoosein Ali and Meer Abbas Ali; depriving us also of our bedding. The horses and saddles of gold, on which my sons came to me, were also taken away, notwithstanding my remonstrances to Captain Brown and Ali Akbar; and at this date they are without swords. Although my swords and matchlocks are of iron and of little value, yet, having descended to me from my ancestors, they are by me prized as my life. Besides that, the late Meer Kurum Ali Khan and Meer Moorad Ali Khan treated Meerza Khoosroo as a son; he was imprisoned with us; one day he was taken to the fort and charged with having misdirected them to the spot where was the treasure of the late Meer Kurum Ali Khan, for which they had him disgraced and flogged, until he fainted; on his recovery, he was tied up for two hours in the fort and afterwards brought back to the place where I was imprisoned. Besides this, when Meer Shere Mahomed was about to fight Sir C. Napier's army, although he was my bitter enemy (as is well-known to Major Outram, Captains Leckie, Whitelock and Mylne), who never let slip an opportunity of destroying my property and injuring me, yet was I removed from my spacious abode in camp, on board the confined accommodation of a steamer; 9 days after I was taken back and imprisoned in my former abode. When I was being conveyed on board the steamer, I asked Captain Brown to detain my two sons and my cousin Meer Mahomed Khan, and to take me with him to battle, as I knew that on seeing me, all the troops with Meer Shere Mahomed would abandon him and come over to me; and the said Meer would either be obliged to fly or to surrender himself or to permit me to to go and fight with him; but my suggestions were not attended to. In former times I was in the habit of sending an experienced person on board every stemear passing up and down the river, to procure for them fuel

and other necessaries, and was equally careful of the convenience of travellers by land, remunerating them in full for whatever was stolen from them and could not be recovered. In the time of Meer Noor Mahomed these losses were shared between us, but after his death I employed servants on board the steamers, and if British officers or those in their service lost property of any kind in Sinde, one part of it was paid for by Meer Meer Mahomed Khan and the remainder by me, to our great detriment; which however, we considered again, in consequence of our friendship with the English. Besides the above, I have performed many other services to the English, in the hope that it would lead to my advantage, instead of conducting me to a prison. It will be notorious all over these countries that this is the reward of a person who has served the British faithfully through life. I formerly sent you a brief account of my circumstances, which I write a second time more in detail, that you may know all that has passed. I have read that Christianity is opposed to oppression of every kind; but from the time the British first arrived in India to the present date no such tyranny was ever practised as on us. Had a shot been fired from the walls of Hyderabad, the British army might have lawfully plundered it; but, after promising security, and making peace, to console us with a promise to restore us to power and afterwards to plunder the treasury, and to disgrace the rulers of the country, is not allowed by any law of the country, is not allowed by any law; and I have heard from experienced persons that it is not the custom of the English to punish a man before he is proved guilty, not to degrade him on the hearsay evidence of others. I therefore hope that you will first investigate my case, and then determine by the laws of Christianity, whether or not, we are suffering from injustice. I look to you for justice and to be sent back, with my former honour and dignity, to my country, where I pledge myself to be bound by the kindness of the English, as long as I live, to serve and obey them; and this will exalt the renown of the English all over the world. Restore me, therefore, to my plundered country."

24. Sir Charles Napier to the Governor-General, Hyderabad, July, 3rd, 1843:— . . . .

Sir Charles Napier's explanation and defence.

"Another charge against me I find to

be that my 'continued march upon Hyderabad, in spite of the advice of Major Outram, was that which forced the Ameers to war.' I certainly did reject Major Outram's advice, because I soon saw that he was grossly deceived by the Ameers. I had several proofs of this, one or two of which I now feel it right to state to your Lordship:—1. Major Outram, being at Hyderabad, sent me two or three despatches by express on the 12th to assure me that the Ameers had not any armed men except their usual personal attendants, and that these were not more numerous than Indian princes of their rank would move with in time of profound peace. At that moment the army of the Ameers was assembled at Meeanee, only 6 miles from Hyderabad, and were preparing their position! At the moment he was writing these despatches to me, his house was surrounded by 8000 Beloochees (who had 8 pieces of cannon) preparing for their attack on him, on the 15th of February. 2. Major Outram wrote to ask me to go to Hyderabad alone to meet the Ameers. 3. He proposed my sending my troops to Meerpore. Had I allowed myself to be guided by Major Outram, my own throat and his, and the throats of all with us, would probably have been cut, and the army left without a leader at Meerpore, 40 miles from the river, which formed our line of communication by steamers with Sukkur and Bombay, and with the friendly territory of H. H. Ali Moorad, which extended south as far as Nowshera; when thus isolated, the army would have been attacked by 60,000 men, pushed back upon the Desert, and there have miserably perished. As Major Outram had lived many years at the court of Hyderabad and every one spoke of his "great local knowledge of the Ameers and of this country," while I was a perfect stranger to both, I might well have been excused, had I allowed myself to have been guided by Major Outram; and his advice was pressed upon me with all the zeal inspired by honesty of purpose, added to an ardent disposition. But my spies brought intelligence that 30000 men were in my front; some said 40000. I concluded that these spies exaggerated numbers, but it was clear to my mind that the Beloochees were above 20000 men, and in sufficient numbers to make them believe that their victory would be certain. Therefore I argued that Major Outram's report was wrong, that he was deceived and ignorant

of what was passing about him. His proposal to march the troops to Meerpore made me think that he understood very little of war; I therefore paid no attention to his suggestions. I put all my sick and treasure on board a steamer and resolved to attack the enemy. If we were beaten, we had plenty of provisions, and with our backs to the river (for retreat would have been disastrous) and the steamers, I could have entrenched myself till reinforcements arrived. I had full confidence in the troops and little feared an undisciplined multitude; but still the game was not an easy one, and I have shown that, had I taken Outram's advice, as I was reproached for not having done, a second Cabool massacre would probably have taken place. One would have imagined that the attack on the Residency would have, at least, opened Outram's eyes to the treachery of the characters he had to deal with. Not a bit; he joined me on the 16th at Mutaree and still wanted me to delay my attack for a day! Yet, six hours delay would have added 24,000 men to the forces of the Ameers at Meeanee. It is true that I had no positive information of this at the moment; but I was sure of it from the letter I found on the Murree Chief Hyat Khan, whom I had seized. In this letter the Ameers pressed the Murrees to join on the 9th. Now, I knew that these barbarians would not leave their villages while the feast of the Moharram lasted. It was to finish on the 11th; therefore I guessed how fast they would gather after that day, and I resolved not to lose an hour. If my conduct be attacked in the House of Commons, I think the foregoing statement will be a sufficient defence. I am not conscious of having erred in rejecting Major Outram's advice. Outram's answer will be "there would not have been war." The Ameers answered this on the 15th; but suppose not; was I to place the army at their mercy to spare or destroy, as they pleased? Their mercy! I have it in proof that about the time Major Outram kept assuring me of their pacific feelings and disposition towards us, they had sent orders along both banks of the Indus to their people "to kill every Englishman, woman and child they could lay their hands upon." We should have received the tender mercies of the Afghans in the Tezeen Pass. The mercy which Outram would have received himself, but for my forebodings and sending him the light company of the 22nd Regiment."

Evidence in favour of Sir Charles Napier's line of conduct.

25. Evidence given by Peer Budroodeen, confidential servant of the *ex*-Ameer Sobdar Khan of Hyderabad:—

"*Q.*—On what date did the army of the Ameers leave Hyderabad?

A.—On the 6th of February 1843, the troop under the command of Gholam Mahomed Komriewalla and Mir Khan Mahomed Talpoor (Khananie) went out and encamped in the Babool Jungle near Meer Futteh Ali Kebab. The two chiefs then returned to Hyderabad and told Meer Nusseer Khan to get all in readiness for battle. Afterwards the force collected there, and chiefs as they arrived remained there. On the evening of the 14th February 1843, Meer Nusseer Khan moved out and joined their force. In the morning, an order was issued to plunder Major Outram's dwelling.

Q.—Who commanded this party?

A.—Meer Shadad commanded the party and by him was given the order to plunder the agency; and Meer Nusseer Khan of Khyrpore, Meer Jehan Mahomed, Meer Khan Mahomed, Gholam Mahomed Komriewalla, a Nizamanee chief, whose name I forget, Ahmed Khan Lugharee, Meerza Bakur, and other inferior chiefs accompanied him.

Q.—When Major Outram quitted the agency, what did the troops (Sinde) do?

A.—They plundered all the property left and burnt all the buildings. They then joined Meer Nusseer Khan at the garden and Meer Shadad Khan and the aforenamed chiefs said "we have gained a victory; Major Outram has fled, and we have plundered his property. Our party have behaved most bravely." Meer Shadad sent a man to give the news of his victory to Meer Sobdar Khan in the fort, and to inform him that Major Outram had fled. Meer Sobdar, on hearing this, answered "you have done ill. If with 8000 men you have been unable to destroy 100 men, what will you be able to do in front of the General's army?" On the evening of the 15th of February Meer Nusseer Khan moved from his garden and took up a position at Noonar, half a *coss* from it; and on the evening of the 16th he reached Meeanee; next morning the battle took place.

Q.—Was Meer Sobdar in the battle (of Meeanee) and what Ameers were there?

A.—Meers Sobdar and Mahomed Khan were not in the battle. Except these two, all Ameers of Upper and Lower Sinde were there. . . . .

Q.—Did Meer Sobdar Khan send information to the General that troops were collecting at Hyderabad?

A.—On the night of the day on which the General reached Sukkurund (10th February) Meer Sobdar called me and said 'Take two days' food and drink and proceed by the jungle to the General's camp; and tell him, if he comes quickly, it is well; but if he delays, the force here will very greatly increase.' Jamadar Conra said 'Budroodeen is a great man. If he goes it will be well-known, and you will get a bad name; it will be better if some one else is sent.' I afterwards heard that orders were given to Syad Abbas Ali Shah and a Cazee to proceed to the General's camp and to beg of him to come on quickly. . . . .

Q.—When did the Ameers commence collecting troops?

A.—When Meerza Khoosroo returned from the General they commenced doing so. Meerza Khoosroo wrote from Nowshera to the Ameers: 'The General is bent upon war, so get ready.' When the Meerza returned to Hyderabad, the order for collecting troops was given. . . . E. J. Brown."

Monthly allowances for the *ex*-Amirs at Poona and of their ladies at Haidarabad.

26. The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee, August, 14, 1843:—

. . . . . "We transmit for your consideration certain memorials which the *ex*-Ameers have addressed to us from Sinde; but we consider it unnecessary to make any observations upon them. Sir C. Napier's indignant refutation of the calumnious charges brought against himself and the gallant troops whom he commands will be sufficient to satisfy you that the Ameers are without truth. The ladies of the Zenana in Sinde have consented to receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 4,500 for their maintenance and we have temporarily fixed the allowance of the *ex*-Ameers at Sassoor at Rs. 15,000 per mensem, subject to future revision."

(B.) Extracts from Dr. James Burnes' "Visit to the Court of Sind (1839.)"

Character of Mír Murád Alí Khán.

27. Meer Mourad Alí Khan is about 55 years of age, of low stature and stout habit of body. His complexion is rather fair and his countenance is the index of a sullen and gloomy mind. He is cold and repulsive in his manners, seldom relaxes into a smile and never condescends to familiar conversation. His personal attachments are confined to the circle of his family. . . . Inconsistent as it may appear, this tyrant is at heart a poor hypochondriac, constantly haunted by the fear of death, and the phantoms of his own gloomy imagination. . . . . I have myself known him pass several sleepless nights from a horror of the consequences of bodily derangement of the most trivial description. The prevailing feature of Meer Mourad Ali's character is avarice; and he is ever too ready to sacrifice, for its gratification, his own dignity, and the interests of his people. Seldom making promises, he even more rarely fulfils them; and altogether his character may be summed up as that of a selfish and gloomy despot, an Asiatic Tiberius or Philip the Second, ruling a kingdom by the energies of his mind, with none of the better feelings of the human heart.

Character of Mír Karam Alí Khán.

28. The character of Meer Kurum Ali Khan forms a perfect contrast to that of his brother. He is a man of approved personal bravery, and as far as the etiquette of the Court permits, is cheerful, condescending and even affable. Fond of dress and display, he courts popular applause, which Mourad Ali affects to despise; and till lately he was generous to profusion. Even yet he is liberal, although he now shows a disposition to follow the general policy of the Sinde Court, and to hoard money. I found the public voice at Hyderabad decidedly in his favour, as a prince who was kind to his subjects and attendants, and who was strict in the performance of his promises. In person he is below the middle size, with a pleasing countenance and engaging manners. . . . Meer Karmali is possessed of slender talents, though his education has been good; and he is of so indecisive and

easy a disposition that he has accustomed himself through life to regulate his conduct chiefly by the advice and wishes of others.

Character of Mir Nûr Muhammad Khân.

29. Meer Mourad Ali's eldest son Meer Noor Mahomed Khan is about 30 years of age, and may be considered as nearly the counterpart of his father, with all the bad and but few of the strong parts of his character. He was very unpopular; and I never heard of any virtue he possessed, except a selfish attachment to his parent. Accumulation of wealth is the apparent object of his life. This chief is the only one of the family who is illiterate.

Character of Mir Muhammad Nasir Khân.

30. Meer Mahomed Nusseer Khan is the second son of Meer Mourad Ali, and is by far the most engaging and popular of the reigning family in Sinde. He is 25 years of age, of handsome figure, though rather corpulent, with much dignity of manners, and a noble expression of countenance, undisfigured by the least resemblance to his father or brother. The dissimilarity, fortunately, is as complete in character as in personal appearance. Meer Nusseer Khan is as generous as they are sordid, and has lavished the treasures which were allotted him with profuse liberality. . . . . Meer Nusseer Khan has ever expressed a favourable feeling towards the British Government. He has been unremitting in his civilities to our native agent at Hyderabad; and during my residence there he was even more attentive to me than the others. He is the darling of the soldiery, from excelling in all manly exercises, and the most likely of the younger branches of the family to attain that pre-eminence which some one or other will probably in the end acquire. He does not appear a very determined or aspiring character.

Mir Sobdar Khân *vel.* Mir Fateh Ali Khân.

31 Meer Sobdar Khan is the son of Meer Futteh Ali Khan, the chief to whom the Talpoor family owes its greatness; and he was born in 1801, a few hours before the death of his father, who had only time to entreat the kindness of his brother to his infant before he expired. For many years Meer Sobdar was the adopted child of

Meer Kurum Ali; but being subject to epilepsy, and having one day fallen down in the durbar, Mourad Ali Khan contemptuously asked his brother what he expected to make of such an unfortunate wretch; and since then, until very lately, he has lived in obscurity on a paltry pension of 25,000 rupees per annum. The personal appearance of Meer Sobdar Khan is favourable. He is about the middle size and rather inclined to corpulency. In his manners he is formal . . . . . Great pains were, I understand, taken with his education; and although he is, no doubt, a man of weak mind, and most likely the tool only of a party, he is not deficient in literary taste and attainments, if a knowledge of Persian books and poetry can be dignified by such an appellation.

Nawáb Wall Muhammad Khán Lughári.

32. The Nawab, Wullee Mahomed Khan Lagharee is by the Ameers themselves termed the Vazier of Sinde, and next to the principal members of the Talpur family, must be considered the most important personage under their government. Being himself the head of a powerful Beloochee tribe, which contributed in the field to the elevation of the present rulers, he has ever since been their faithful and able servant, and seems to enjoy not only the entire confidence of his masters, but, what is rare indeed in a despotic government, the esteem and respect of the people. He is the adviser of the Ameers in the management of the internal affairs of the State; and by his adroitness and mild demeanour, has it often in his power, and seldom loses an opportunity, to avert or mitigate the effects of those shocks of tyranny and oppression which emanate from their durbar. A sincere regard for the interest of his masters has taught this old and respectable individual the necessity of maintaining a friendly intercourse with the British Government, and it is to his advice I owe not only my visit to Sinde, but the wish of the Ameers to detain me. . . . . In 1832, the Vazier Wullee Mahomed Khan Lagharee dropped into the grave full of years and honour, having retained the confidence of his masters and the love of the people to the last. To give an idea of the wealth of a Beloochee Chief of the highest rank, it may be added that the whole annual revenue of the possessions transmitted to his heir did not exceed £3,000 sterling. His death left the arena

open to his suttle adversary, Meer Ismail Shah, who, aided by his sons, still pursues an active career of ambition, sharing, with Mirza Khoosroo Beg, the chief influence at Court.*

Mir (or A'ghá) Ismáil Sháh and his sons.

33. Meer Ismail Shah is the adviser of the government in his foreign, as Nawab Wullee Mahomed Khan is in its domestic policy. He is second only to the latter in the estimation of the Ameers, who in addition to their religious reverence for him as a descendant of the Prophet, entertain an exaggerated idea of his judgment and experience. He is the son of a Persian who emigrated about 50 years ago into Sinde, where he was attached to the last Caloras as a State-physician and afterwards siding with the Talpoors, received employment in their service. Ismail Shah is well-known as the ambassador to Bombay in 1820, when it was expected war would be declared between the governments. . . . Meer Ismail Shah is a man of respectable appearance and good address, about 50 years of age, has the silly vanity to pretend ignorance of the common language of Sinde, and never speaks or allows himself to be addressed in any other language than Persian. . . . He is no doubt thoroughly skilled in the system of intrigue and chicanery so requisite in an Asiatic cabinet. He has several sons holding important situations under the government, one of whom was lately at Bombay as vakeel, and another is the representative of the Ameers at Shikarpoor. He himself receives a monthly salary of eleven hundred rupees as physician, which is the best paid appointment at Hyderabad, but his prescriptions are little attended to by the Ameers.†

Mirza Khusró Beg.

34. Next in importance to these officers are a few courtiers who exert a personal influence, from being constantly in private attendance on the Ameers or as leaders of Beloochee tribes. The first of this class worthy of notice is Mirza Khoosroo Beg, a Georgian slave, who was purchased about eighteen years ago by Meer Kurm Ali Khan,‡ and whom his

* See page 214 and the genealogical tree in Appendix III.

† See page 222 and the genealogical tree in Appendix III.

‡ He was a mere war prisoner. See his biographical sketch in Appendix II and page 214.

master now treats as an adopted child. He is not a favourite of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, and possesses little political consequence, though he was envoy at Bombay in 1823. He is a man of quiet retiring character, and is known in Sinde as the author of Persian verses, the merit of which he is willing to yield to Meer Kurm Alí Khan, who has considerable vanity as a poet. I requested His Highness one day to favour me with a couplet of his own composition to engrave on a sword, and I observed that he immediately called Mirza Khoosroo Beg to him, and after some whispering, produced the following verse as his own:—"I am sharper than wisdom from the mouth of Plato; I am more blood-spilling than the eye-brow of a beautiful mistress."

The Járejah Rajputs of Kachh.

35. The Jharejahs are the aristocracy of the country and are all more or less connected with the family of the Rao. They trace their descent from Lacca Goraro, a prince who reigned in Sinde a thousand years ago, four of whose sons, Moor, Oner, Phool and Munyabhaee, emigrated into Cutch on account of some family dissensions. The two last had no issue. The posterity of Moor ended in the third generation at Lacca Phoolanee, whose name is still known and celebrated throughout this province. From Oner descended the present Jam of Nuwanugur. One of his descendants four hundred years ago had four sons, Khenyar, Rhayebjee, Sayebjee, and Aleyajee. From the first of these the Rao is lineally descended; and all the present Jharejahs, with a few exceptions, who claim still higher birth, derive their origin from the other three . . . . the Jharejahs of Cutch trace the custom (infanticide) to Jarrah, one of the posterity of Oner, abovementioned, from whom they derive their name, and who first set the example by putting to death seven of his daughters some hundred years ago. His descendants, it is to be feared, have not confined this practice to females only.

The Kalhorah invasion of Kachh, and their matrimonial connection with the royal family

36. The royal family of Cutch have never objected to form matrimonial alliances with Mahommedans, when the match was suitable, or when a political object was to be gained. Rao Gore gave one of his female relations in marriage to Meean

Suru fraz Khan, a prince of the house of Calora in Sinde; and more lately, Kasser Bhye, the sister of Rao Bharmuljee, was united to the Nawab of Joonaghur. . . . . Two of the invasions of Cutch were headed by Gholam Shah Calora in person and two of them by his son Meean Surufraz Khan. The former wished to compel the Rao to give him his sister in marriage; but after a treaty had been entered into, in which this stipulation stood as an article, it was evaded, and Gholam Shah was glad, on his second invasion, to content himself with the daughter of the chief of Khanker, whose family stood next in pretensions to the throne. . . . . On quitting Cutch, Gholam Shah left a garrison of 5000 men at Luckput Bunder, which was then a petty town. He also proceeded to build an embankment to prevent the waters of the Indus from falling into the sea through the eastern branch of the river which passes close to Luckput; and by this unjustifiable act he converted a fertile plain, which yielded from rice cultivation a revenue of eight lacs of cories annually to the Bhooj durbar, into a dreary salt-marsh. When Gholam Shah died, his son Surufraz Khan re-called his troops from Luckput, but as before stated, he twice after this entered Cutch with a considerable force, and devastated a great part of the country before he quitted it.

(C) Extracts from Lieut.-Col. Outram's Commentary on "The Conquest of Sind."

Lieut.-Col. Outram's views about the conquest of Sind and his own defence.

37. Nearly a month before the battle of Meeanee I not only clearly foresaw the said events that were to follow, but I declared to Sir Charles Napier my conviction, "that every life which might hereafter be lost in consequence would be a murder." Admiring him as a gallant soldier, and giving him credit for his professed anxiety to maintain peace, I could not disguise my regret at his persisting in what I deemed unjustifiable proceedings, and my sorrow that his should be the hands to work results so disastrous—disastrous, I mean, not in a military, but in a political and moral sense. . . . . ——Even had the wretched captives

been guilty of all the atrocities charged upon them, but of which I knew them to be innocent, their treatment was, I considered, unnecessarily harsh and contrasted strangely with that of the family of Tippoo Sultan on the fall of Seringapatam. . . . ——— . . . I was employed amicably to control, not to subvert, the Ameers and did so for three years. Sir Charles Napier had ostensibly the same duty to perform for his Government; in less than as many months he picked a quarrel with them and commenced hostilities; drove them from their habitations; hunted them until compelled to resist; hurled them from their thrones; sacked their capital; and seized their country! . . . ——— . . . Little did he (Sir Charles Napier) know of Ali Morad's character, if he believed that prince would wait till his brother's death, when he had himself shown him how it might be earlier obtained. He flattered himself that, by detaching Ali Morad from the other Ameers, he had diminished the chance of bloodshed! Grievous and fatal delusion! while he thus fancied he was treading the highway of an honourable and peaceful diplomacy, he had been beguiled into the tortuous paths which ultimately led to the bloody fields of Meeanee and Dubba! . . . ——— . . . Not a single act of the Ameers, from the commencement of his adroit and firm policy, gave him the slightest grounds for suspecting that the Ameers could have been guilty of such foul treachery. Men who had, from an overwhelming sense of their utter helplessness, submitted to all our aggressions, were little likely to invoke destructions on themselves by the assassination of the English General. . . . . ——— . . . . The Ameers *did not delay* to sign the draft treaty; they signed it on the 12th, and subsequently I made known to him that they had done so, still it availed them nought—it did not relieve them at once, or at all, from the presence of the troops, but they were "confident of victory," and "wanted to fight." The refusal of aid or refuge to the fugitives of Khyrpoor until compelled by Sir Charles Napier to admit them: their vakeels deputed to accept the treaty long before the British army entered their territory, thereby obviating the necessity for its coming in contact with the stiff Beloochees, and depriving the British General of any plea for war: their repeated protestations against the advance of the British troops when they were ready to comply

with all our demands: their repeated warnings that the approach of the British army to the capital would force the Beloochees to hostilities: their formal acceptance of the treaty by deputy, when first tendered to them on the 8th February, and their solemn ratification of the same in person on the day promised (12th February), while it was still in the power of Sir Charles Napier to avoid collision,—all prove how *eager* the Ameers were for *battle*—how confident of victory!! the *forbearance* of the British General—his *aversion to war*—are rendered equally apparent by his steady prosecution of the very measures he had been assured would cause all the Beloochees of the nation to assemble in opposition—his continued advance against the capital, to protect which they had congregated—his disregard of the Ameers' compliance with the treaty—of the warnings of the consequence of advancing further when they had done so—and of the Ameers' solemn protestations! The reader will judge whether the *acts* and *words* of Sir Charles Napier, or those of the Ameers of Sinde were most consistent. . .——. . . The punishment which had been inflicted on the Ameers in the battle of Meeanee, and the lesson it read to them of the hopelessness of any attempt of resistance, was quite adequate for the emergency, even had any guilt attached to them; and they, at least the majority of the Ameers, were guiltless of aught save culpable forbearance. Had we remained satisfied with our success, and restored the Ameers to their thrones, we should now be holding Sinde in as peaceable subjection as any other province in India; and with little, if any, expense. Nay, more—our forbearing to enhance, by spoliation, the guilt of our repeated acts of injustice, might have been accepted by the world as magnanimity! Such a course I recommeded Sir Charles Napier to adopt; and I had little doubt that, by his representations, such was the course which the Governor General would have been inclined to adopt. . . . Had the Ameers not been induced, by Sir Charles Napier's assurances, to expect a far different fate from that which has overtaken them, they would not have surrendered. They would, like all Asiatics of their creed, rank and character, rather have buried themselves and their wives beneath the ruins of their fortress . . .——. . . I have, I trust, already satisfied the reader that no intention of massacering myself or my escort ever entered the minds

of the Ameers. The General's advance *compelled* the Beloochees to march out in defence of the capital; a necessary military preliminary was to expel me from their rear; and, as the evidence adduced by Sir C. Napier against the Ameers proves, my expulsion was *all* that they desired. "If they fight, kill them: but if they run away, never mind" were the bloodthirsty instructions issued by those who "in dark council" had resolved to "massacre" my escort and myself! Farther, not the most frivolous evidence is sought to be adduced to prove that Meer Sobdar sanctioned the measure, or was even privy to its adoption. . . . —— . . . No mention is made of the arrest of the young Hoossein Ali. The deed was too dark to be recorded—it must have originated in Sir C. Napier's fixed resolution to make no exception—but to involve in one common ruin, the aged Roostum, the youthful Hoossein Ali, the peace-loving Meer Mahommed, the urbane though intriguing Meer Nusseer, and the old and faithful ally of the British Government, the bed-ridden Sobdar, and his youthful sons, for whom marriage preparations were actually in progress in the hall of their fathers, when Sir C. Napier advanced towards the capital in hostile array. The Talpoor dynasty of Sinde was to be exterminated, root and branch—never was a vow more religiously fulfilled—nor does any allusion to Hoossein appear in the parliamentary papers, beyond the insertion of his petition. To that petition no reply is given. . . . . —— . . . . None of the prize agents reply to these complaints, and Major M'Pherson makes no mention of the assault on him by Meerza Khoosroo, a venerable old man, most highly respected by all the Ameers, as having been the confidential friend of their grandfather the late Meer Kuram Ali. . . . No wonder! Would not the Duke of Wellington feel, and perhaps give vent to, indignation, were similar occurrences to be transacted before his eyes in Windsor Castle? The Ameer's faithful followers have feelings as well as the most faithful of Her Majesty's servants. . . . . —— . . . Shere Mahomed sought not to molest us; but assuredly he would have fought, if attacked by us, as gallantly as he did fight when subsequently assailed. His strength my reader has just seen; his own valour, and the devotion of his warriors, are imperishably recorded in the bloody records of Dubba. . . . But even assum-

ing that the slaughter of Shere Mahomed and his army was practicable, was it necessary, desirable, or justifiable? Surely, enough of blood had already been shed! The Meerpur chief had done nothing in violation either of treaty or international law. The sense of self-preservation had compelled him to collect troops; and had a right appeal to him been made, the same powerful feeling would have caused him to disband them. . . . Those Amirs who, not personally in the battle, were told to fear nothing, were captives and despoiled; what reason had Shere Mahomed to imagine that Sir C. Napier's promises made to himself would be more scrupulously regarded? . . . —— . . . Ridiculously alive to reports of *treachery* and contemplated *massacres*, he (Sir C. Napier) was made the tool of Ali Morad's artful agents, who, trembling for the stability of their master's power, while a chance of the Ameer's restoration existed, sought to exasperate the General against them to the last degree. . . . The battle of Dubba followed, and I defy any impartial man to deny that it was the result of our conduct to the other Ameers after our first victory,—not of any sincerity on the part of Meer Shere Mahommed. It issued in further slaughter, and in the seizure of Shere Mahomed's town and territory. . . . . —— . . . The Ameers of Sinde were, as men, singularly free from the vices which prevail in Mahommedan communities; more intellectual than their compeers in other eastern countries,—temperate, and strongly averse to bloodshed,—affectionate, kind, and gentle almost to effiminacy. As sovereigns they were mild and little oppressive in their sway, and ruled with an unity of design.

APPENDIX II.

Biographical Sketches of a few important persons mentioned in the Book.

(1) *Shekh Bahâuddín Zakariyyá.**

He was the son of Shekh Abú Muhammad *bin* Shekh Ibráhím *bin* Shekh Abdulláh *bin* Shekh Shahábuddín *bin* Shekh Zakariyyá *bin* Shekh Núruddín *bin* Shekh Sirájuddín *bin* Shekh Wajduddín *bin* Shekh Masúd *bin* Shekh Raziuddín *bin* Kásim *bin* Jaafar *bin* Abí Bakr. Thus he is descended from Abú Bakr, the first khalíf or successor of the Prophet Muhammad. He was one of the most learned and pious men of his time and was a disciple of Shekh Shahábuddín Suhrwardí. With the permission of his spiritual guide he came to Multan and became a permanent resident of the place. He was considered to be a Shekh-ul-Islám and a large number of people flocked to him and became his disciples. He is well-known for several pious and religious deeds and superhuman habits. He died in 360 A.H. (970 A.D.) and was buried in the fort of Multan and his tomb is still visited annually by people from Sind and the Punjab.

Shekh Bahâuddín Zakaryyá was succeeded by his son Shekh Sadruddín, who continued as a spiritual guide in his father's place for 18 years. He was succeeded by his son Shekh Ruknuddín, who occupied his father's place for 52 years and then on his death was succeeded by his son Shekh Ismáíl, who was killed and was succeeded by his son Sadruddín II. The latter, too, was murdered after acting as Shekh-ul-Islám of Multan, and was succeeded by his son Ruknuddín II, who again was succeeded by his son Shekh Yúsuf. In 847 A.H. (1443 A.D.) Shekh Yúsuf was elected as a ruler of Multan, but after 2 years he was killed, being succeeded by Shekh Shahrulláh, who again was succeeded by his son Shekh Bahâuddín. Several descendants of this family migrated to different parts of Sind and became permanent residents of those places.

* From the Tuhfatulkirám.

(2) *Kalandar Lál Shahbáz.**

His name was Shekh Usmán Marwandí. He is one of the four contemporary saints called "The Four Friends," the other three being Shekh Bahánuddín Zakariyyá, Makhdúm Jahánian (Sayyed Jalál Bukhárí), and Shekh Farid Shakarganj. In 662 A.H. (1263 A.D.), when he came to Multan, Sultán Muhammad the son of Sultán Ghayásuddín, the Emperor of Dehlí, who was very fond of poets and pious men, used to visit him very much. Shekh Bahánuddín and Shekh Farid as well as the celebrated poets Amír Khushró and Amír Hasán of Dehlí, pressed him to become a permanent resident of the place, but he did not comply with their request and went to Sháh Shams Bú Alí Kalandar. This saint told him that there had been already some three hundred Kalandars in Hindustán, that there was no place for him there and that he had better go to Sind. Following this hint Shekh Usmán Marwandí came to Siwistán (Sehwán) and determined to settle there. The piece of ground which he occupied and where his tomb now stands was the residing place of public women. It is said that during the very first night of the Shekh's stay at the place the men who had come to visit the women could not perpetrate the immoral deeds for which they had come. Early in the morning they came to the Shekh and repented for their past life and promised to lead a moral life for the future. As he was a man of great learning and piety he soon became well-known throughout Sind and neighbouring countries. He lived a single and austere life and died in 673 A.H. (1274 A.D.) and was buried there. An annual fair is held at Sehwán, which continues for 2 or 3 days, and is visited by a large number of people.

(3) *Makhdúm Núh.**

He was the son of Niamatulláh and is a descendant of Abá Bakr Siddík, the first khalíf or successor of the Prophet and hence he is called Siddíkí. It is said that at the age of seven he heard the cry for prayer and repeated the *Kalmah* in reply. At the age of fourteen he is said to have acquired a vast amount of spiritual knowledge, communicated to him spiritually by Alí, the fourth khalíf.

* From the Tuhfatulkirám.

He visited Tattá, where his knowledge about the interpretation of the Koran was tested by many learned men of the place and all were surprised with his erudition. He died on Thursday the 7th of Zikaad 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.). He is buried in the town of Hálah. His place was occupied by his eldest son Makhdúm Jalál, who was again succeeded by his son Muhammad Zamán.

(4) *Sayyed Abdul Karím* (alias *Sháh Karím.**)

He was one of the Sayyeds of Muta-allawí (Matiárí) and was the son of Sayyed Lallah and was born in 944 A.H. (1537 A.D.) He led a very austere life from his early childhood. It is said that early in the morning he used to go to the mosque, call the people to prayer and remain there engaged in repeating religious formulas, till the morning prayer was over. Then he came home, cooked his food and fed his guests and disciples. Then carrying a plough on his head and taking a pair of bullocks he went to work in his field. He returned in the afternoon and said the afternoon and evening prayers, and completing the domestic affairs of the day and feeding his fakírs, he started in the direction of Rahót and from there he came to Tattá. In the way he visited each and every mosque, filled the jars with water and did other necessary service. Swimming across the river of Sáwní he visited all the tombs on the Maklí Hill and mosques of Tattá and then he came to Pir Pathá. Thence he travelled back visiting mosques and shrines in the way, arriving at his own village just at the time of the call for morning prayer. This was his daily habit for many years. He was a great friend of Sayyed Muhammad Yúsuf Razawí of Bakhar, Makhdúm A'dam Samejah of Kaleh and Makhdúm Núh of Hálah. He acquired much spiritual knowledge from the latter and with his advice he became a permanent resident of Bulrí. He died in 1030 A.H. (1620 A.D). He had eight sons. 1. Sayyed Lallah who died in childhood. 2. Sayyed Abdur Rahím who was as pious as his father, but died in the latter's life-time. Sayyed Jalál, named after his uncle, who was a celebrated saint. He was murdered one night by thieves, while he was coming home from Hálah, in his father's life-time. 4. Sayyed Burhán, who too died in his father's life-time. 5. Sayyed Lallah the second,

* From the Tuhfatulkirám. See the genealogical tree in Appendix III.

who survived his father's death and spent much time in travelling. 6. Sayyed Dín Muhammad, who led a retired life and ultimately became his father's successor. 7. Sayyed Muhammad Husain, who under his father's orders served his Fakírs. 8. Sayyed Abdul Kuddús, who died in childhood in his father's life-time. On his death-bed Sayyed Abdul Karím appointed his son Sayyed Dín Muhammad as his successor. The latter was succeeded by his son Sayyed Abduddalíl, who again was succeeded by his son Sayyed Abdul Ghaní. The next successors were the latter's son Sayyed Abdul Wásia, then his son Sayyed Muhammad Zamán, then his son Sayyed Mukím, then his brother Muhammad Zamán's son Sayyed Abdul Wásia.

(5) *Sháh Abdullatíf Bhitái.*[*]

Sháh Abdullatíf was born at Bhaipur in the talukah of Háláh in 1102 A.H. (1689 A.D.). His ancestors Sayyed Mír Alí had come from Hirát to Hindustán in 1398 A.D., when Amír Taimúr had invaded that country. His son Haidarshah came to Sind in order to visit his brothers, who had been appointed as Governors of different provinces of Hindustán. Coming to Háláh he married a daughter of Sháh Muhammad son of Daryá Khan Háláh. After about a year and a half, Sayyed Haidar got the sad news of his father's death and went to Hirát, leaving his wife at Háláh, where she gave birth to a son who was called Mír Alí. After about 3 years Sayyed Haidarsháh died at Hirát. Sayyed Mír Alí married and got two sons Sayyed Sharfuddín, whose descendants are called Sharafpótahs and Sayyed Ahmad, whose descendants are called Míranpótahs. They lived at Muta-allawí (Matiárí). One of the celebrated descendants of these Sayyeds was Sayyed Abdul Karím of Bulri. Sháh Abdullatíf was the son of Habíb Shah, who was the son of Abdul Kuddús Sháh, who was the son of Jamál Sháh, who was the son of Sháh Abdul Karím. Sháh Abdullatíf's mother was a descendant of Makhdúm Arabí Dayánah, who was a celebrated saint. Sháh Abdullatíf got very little education in childhood, but being of retired habits and fond of travelling he acquired a vast amount of spiritual knowledge.

[*] Abridged from Shah Abdullatif's life, published by the writer. See the genealogical tree in Appendix II.

Shah Abdullatíf married a daughter of Mughul Beg Mirzá and had a son, who died in infancy. The austere life which Shah Bhitáí led brought him a large number of muríds. This made the Makhdúm of Hálah, a descendant of Makhdúm Núh and the Sayyeds of Muta-allawí, jealous of him. He was therefore obliged to remove from Muta-allawí to Bhaipur, and thence to Kotrí near Hálah. Mian Núr Múhammad Kalhórah, the ruler of Sind, whose capital city was then at Khudá-ábad was not on good terms with him, but afterwards he became his *murid*.

In 1144 A.H. (1731 A.D.) Sháh Abdullatíf's father died. Soon after, he removed to a sand-hill, where he settled himself with his muríds. This was called Bhit, where he died in 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.) on the 14th of Saffar. His shrine is visited by people from all the parts of Sind. Sháh Abdullatíf is the author of Sháh-jo-Risálo, which work shows clearly that he was a great poet as well as a great saint.

Sháh Bhitáí was succeeded on his *gádi* by his nephew Jamál Sháh, who then lived at Wangah Walásah. He died in 1204 A.D. (1789 A.D.).

(6) *Díwán Gidúmal.**

Díwán Gidúmal was the son of Belomal, third descendant of Adiomal Sháhwání, who first came to Sind. Adiomal was an original resident of Sítpur or Hájípur, and a Khatrí (Manchund) by caste. He came to Sukkur and entered the service of Mián A'dam Sháh Kalhórah. Subsequently he removed to Shikárpur, where he married the daughter of a wealthy merchant (*sowcar*) of the place, by whom he had two sons. From these two sons a long line of descendants issued, many of whom are still living at Hyderabad. Díwán Gidúmal himself had no issue, but the descendants of his brothers are called Gidwánís after him. He entered the service of the Kalhórahs as a Díwán and rose to be an influential courtier and counsel of the State. When the Tálpurs succeeded the Kalhórahs, Diwán Gidúmal secured their confidence too and greatly assisted Mír Fateh Alí Khán in becoming an independent ruler of Sind by going as an Envoy to the court of the Emperors of Dehlí, but he

* See the genealogical tree in Appendix III.

excited some suspicion in the mind of his brother Mír Ghulám Alí Khan, and under his orders he was suddenly assaulted by a number of men armed with clubs and killed. Gidú Bandar or Gidú-jó-Tandó and Gidwání Street are still called after him.*

(7) *Sábit Alí Sháh.*†

He was born in 1153 A.H. (1740 A.D.) at Multán. He was the son of Madár Alí Sháh, grandson of Núr Muhammad Sháh (*alias* Sábút Sháh) and great grandson of Sayyed Ísá. When Nawáb Aazam Khan was coming to Sind as Súbahdár and passed through Multan, Sábit Alí Sháh entered his service and came to Sind. When the Nawáb retired and went back to his native place, Sábit Alí Sháh came to Sehwán, where he found the spiritual guide of his family living in the vicinity of Lál Sháhbaz's shrine. Thus he became a permanent resident of Sehwán and was soon joined by his father Madár Alí Sháh and his brother Parial Sháh, and other relations. He got a preliminary education and early showed signs of an original genius as a poet. He made great advancement in Arabic and Persian literature and commenced writing *marcias* or elegies describing the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson Imám Husain and his party, and singing praises of Alí, the fourth khalíf of the Prophet.

He used to receive allowances and pensions from the Kalhórah rulers and after them from their successors the Tálpurs. Mir Karam Alí Khan was very kind to him, and under his patronage he enjoyed great respect and was safe from the enmity of the Sunní Mullás. He travelled about to other countries, visiting Karbalá and the shrines of all the Imáms, and was therefore called Karbalái or Zawwár. He died on 27th Jamádessání 1325 A.H. (1810 A.D.) and was buried in the grave-yard of Sehwán. He has written many books, all in poetry. In one of these he has given his autobiography. Sábit Alí Sháh had two sons Imdád Alí Sháh and Ihsán Alí Sháh. The former had a son whose name is Sábit Alí Sháh, who is still living in the vicinity of the Mir's tombs at Haidarábád and gets a pension from the British Government. He has two sons Parial Sháh and Imdád Alí Sháh.

* See the genealogical tree in Appendix III.

† Taken from the Life of Sábit Alí Sháh, published by the writer.

(8) *A'ghás Ibráhímsháh and Ismáílsháh.*

A'ghá (or Mír) Ibráhímsháh's father Sayyed Abdul Hádísháh, a resident of Isphán, the capital of Persia, left that country at the time of Nadirshah's invasion and came to Madras in India in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.). He was employed as State Physician by the Rájah of that place. At the request of Mían Núr Muhammad Kalhórah, the then ruler of Sind, who was on friendly terms with the Rájah, the latter sent Sayyed Abdul Hádísháh to the Mían, who received him and entertained him with great respect. Soon the Rájah of Madras died and the Sayyed was induced to stay in Sind and accept the high posts of State Physician and Courtier jointly. After Núr Muhammad's death and in the reign of Mían Sarafráz, Sayyed Abdul Hádísháh was joined by his son Mír Ibráhímshah, 22 years after the former had left him in his native place. Mír Ibráhímsháh succeeded his father on his death in 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.) and continued enjoying the respect and confidence of the Kalhórah rulers. Very often he visited the court of the king of Khurásán or Kábul as an envoy on behalf of the Kalhórahs. When the Tálpurs became the rulers of Sind, A'ghá (Mír) Ibráhímsháh enjoyed the same respect under them, and he assisted Mír Fateh Alí Khán a great deal as an envoy in securing the rulership of Sind. His eldest son A'ghá Ismáílsháh remained as a hostage at the court of Kábul for 12 years on behalf of the Mírs. A'ghá Ibráhímsháh had 8 sons, four of whom held the governorship of Shikárpur, *viz.*, Zainulábdin Sháh for 2 years (he was also the Nawáb of Karáchi for 6 years); Táki Sháh for 30 years; Ibráhím Sháh for 4 years; and Kázim Sháh for 13 years. The latter was killed in the battle between the Tálpurs and the Afgháns at Shikárpur.

The A'ghás lived in a Tandó of theirs on the Phuleli near Haidarabad, and it is known as A'ghá Ismáílsháh's Tandó. Their descendants still live there.*

(9) *Mirzá Khusró Beg.*†

Mirzá Khusró Beg was born in 1790 A.D. at Tiflis, the capital city of Georgia, which province was annexed to

* See their genealogical tree in Appendix III.

† Abridged from the biographical sketch with K. S. Mirza Kalb Ali Beg.

the Russian Empire in 1797, on the murder of Muhammad Sháh, the King of Persia, after a war that lasted for about five years. Mirzá Khusró Beg's father Alkandar Khan was killed in this war, and he himself, then a boy of 7 years, was captured, along with his elder brother, by some Persian troopers and taken to the Persian camp, where his elder brother died after three days from a severe attack of fever. Háji Muhammad Ibráhím Khán, the Commander-in-Chief of the Persian army, happening to see the sorrowing boy among the captives, and learning the cause of his sorrow, felt so much for him that he brought him to his house and began to treat him kindly and to bring him up like one of his own children. In this way Mirzá Khusró Beg spent some years at Tehrán, and then, on the death of his master, he came, with some of his relations, to Shíráz, where he got some education in a school. Unfortunately his new master was imprisoned on some suspicion, under the orders of King Fateh Ali Sháh, the successor of Muhammad Shah, and Mirzá Khusró Beg was left without proper protection. About the same time Mulla Muhammad Ismáil, an envoy of the Amírs of Sind, coming to Shíráz, Mirzá Khusró Beg was entrusted to him, and he brought the young Mirzá to Haidarábád (Sind) in 1805, when he was only 15 years old. Mír Karam Alí Khán, the then ruler of Sind, took him under his patronage, and as he had no issue, he treated the young Mirzá as an adopted son. Mirzá Khusró Beg soon rose to be a confidential and influential courtier, and the keeper of the royal seal, like a prime minister. He continued in this position till the death of Mír Karam Alí Khán in 1827, after which he retired from political life and state service. Mír Murád Alí Khán, the successor of Mír Karam Alí Khán, as well as the succeeding Mírs, treated the Mirzá with marked respect, and in the days of the latter he was occasionally deputed as an ambassador to treat with the British officers. After the battle of Mianí the Mirzá was taken prisoner along with the Mírs, but subsequently the latter were taken away to Bombay, and the Mirzá was left behind to look after the harems of the Mírs, especially those of the late Mír Karam Alí Khán. At first Mirzá Khusró Beg lived in the fort of Haidarábád, like the Mírs. Later on he wanted to settle outside near the tomb of his late master, Mír Karam Alí Khán, but he was induced to leave off the idea and the

walled enclosure was subsequently utilised as *sadar* jail by the British Government. After the British conquest Mirzá Khusró Beg with the harems of the Mírs removed from the Fort to Tando Sáindád, opposite Tando Muhammad Khán on the Gúní, where shortly after a dreadful fire broke out accidentally destroying valuable property. Then they removed to Tandó Mahmúd on the Phulelí and then, after about four years, to Tandó Thóró, about 2 miles from Haidarábád, where he continued to live up to his death in 1860 at the age of 70.* He was buried in the vicinity of the tombs of the Mírs. He was a noble-minded, generous-hearted, truth-loving and well educated nobleman, keeping up his self-respect and honour, even after the British conquest. During his last lingering illness he was constantly visited by Sir Bartle Frere, the then Commissioner in Sind, Major Goldsmid, Colonel Lambert, Colonel Tyrwhitt and other European officers. He never entered Government service after his master Mír Karam Alí Khan's death and would not receive any *jágír* even. A small *jágír* was subsequently given to his eldest son, then 7 years old, by H. H. Mír Núr Muhammad Khán, for his pocket money. Mirzá Khusró Beg had four sons, the eldest being Mirza Ali Muhammad Beg, who, in 1859, entered Government service, being appointed an Extra Assistant Collector. He got the title of "Khán Bahádur" as a mark of distinction. He died on 22nd January 1887 at the age of 53, after a bright career of 28 years service. His son Mirzá Kalbalí Beg is still in Government service, being a first grade Mukhtiarkar.†

(10) *Mirzá Muhammad Bákar.*

Mirzá Muhammad Bákar was a Georgian by birth, having been born at Tiflis. In the war that ensued between Persia and Russia, like so many other Georgians, Mirzá Muhammad Bákar and his brother were taken prisoners, after their father had first killed with his own hands the female members of his family and then was killed himself fighting sword in hand. Soon the two brothers were separated by their captors and Mirzá Muhammad Bákar was brought to Shiráz where he got some education,

* His descendants still live there.

† See the genealogical tree in Apendix III.

About the same time some of the envoys of Mir Murád Alí Khán, coming to Persia, they managed to get his possession and brought him to Sind when he was about 15 years old. He was greatly consoled to see his countryman Mirzá Khusró Beg already in Sind, particularly when the latter assured him that he was the brother he had lost (or like him), and for whom he was still sorrowing. He soon rose under the patronage of Mir Murád Alí Khán to be a favourite courtier. He died on 28th Shawwál 1273 A.H. (1856 A.D.) at the age of 55. He left five sons, Mirza Band Alí Beg, Mirza Muhib Alí Beg, Mirza Nawáz Alí Beg, Mirzá Sher Alí Beg and Mirza Lutíf Alí Beg. The eldest, Mirza Band Alí Beg, died in 1869 at the age of 48.*

(11) *Mirzá Fredún Beg.*†

Mirzá Fredún Beg (whose original name was Sydney, for he belonged to a Christian family) was born in 1814 A.D. at Sakaz, near Tiflis, the capital of Georgia. When Nádir Shah's successor Muhammad Khán invaded Georgia, Mirzá Fredún Beg's father with his band of frontier tribesmen fought on the side of Heracleus, the ruler of Georgia. In the bloody battle of Tiflis, Heracleus was defeated and about 15,000 persons were captured and brought to Persia. Mirzá Fredún Beg's father with his wife and two sons, John and Sydney, were among the captives. Soon after, a Russian army coming to Georgia to help Heracleus' son Gurgín Khán, Muhammad Khán again invaded Georgia, and defeated the Russians and Georgians at the battle of Urus. During this latter confusion, Mirzá Fredún Beg's father, with his eldest son John, managed to escape and join Gurgín Khán and they were killed in the battle. His wife fearing disgrace, consequent on her husband's treacherous escape, committed suicide by poison, leaving behind her younger son Sydney, named Fredún Beg by the Persians, who was hardly 10 years old then. An influential Sayyed of Tabríz named Murtazá Sháh took the boy under his protection and brought him to Tabríz, and then to Isphán, where he learnt the Koran and some Persian books. About this time one

---

* See the genealogical tree in Appendix III.

† Abridged from the biographical sketch given in the writer's family egister.

of H. H. Mír Karam Alí Khan's ambassadors coming to the court of Fateh Alí Sháh, the Sháh of Persia, and happening to see the boy and like him, took him away for the Mír, who was very fond of Georgian boys, having already adopted Mirzá Khusró Beg as his son, who too had come to Sind from Georgia under similar circumstances. Mirza Fredun Beg lived with Mirzá Khusró Beg, who married him to one of his own daughters and thenceforth they lived together as members of the same family. Mirzá Fredún Beg died on 21st January 1871, leaving seven sons and two daughters. The writer is his third son.*

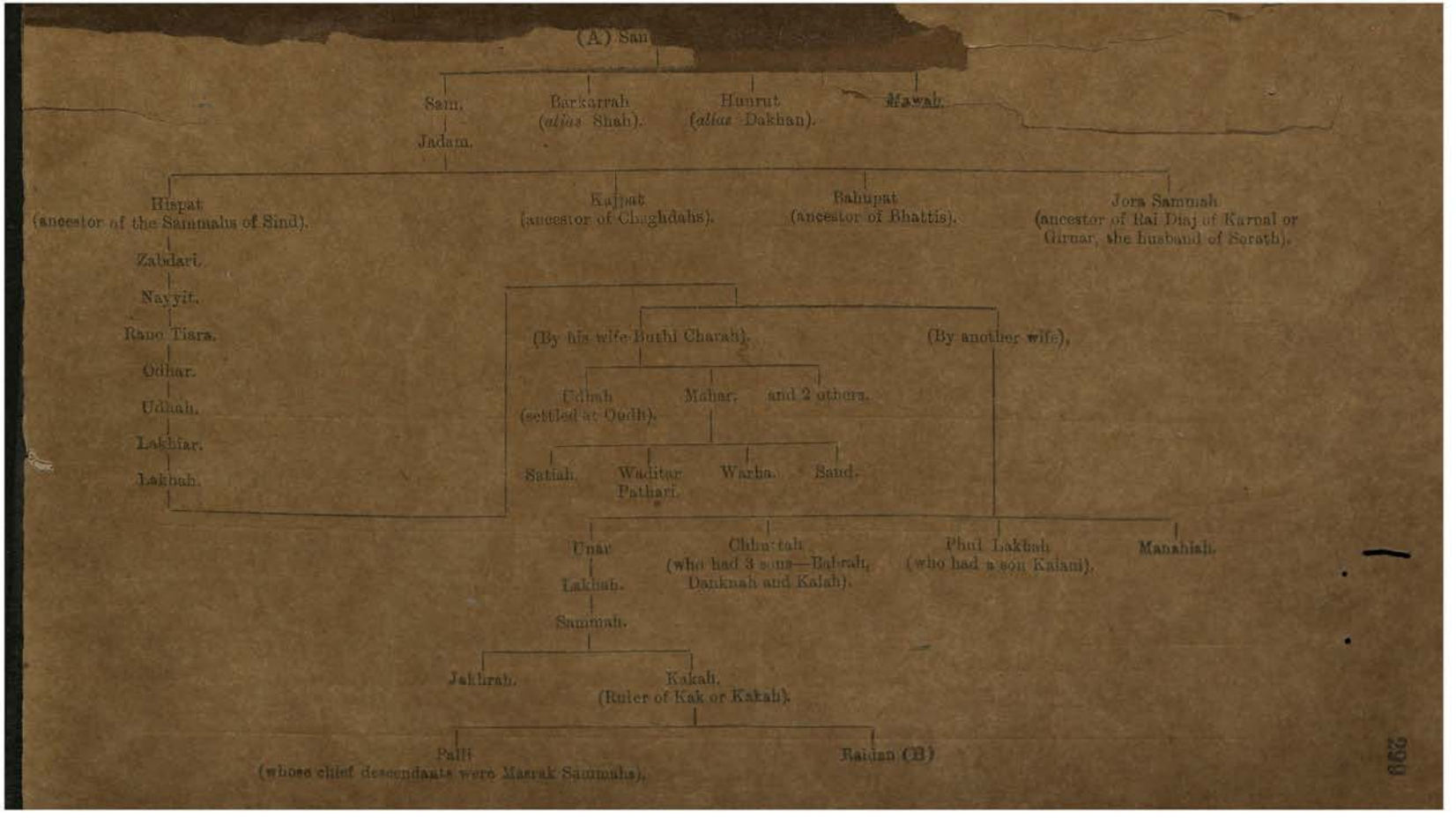
* See the genealogical tree in Appendix III.

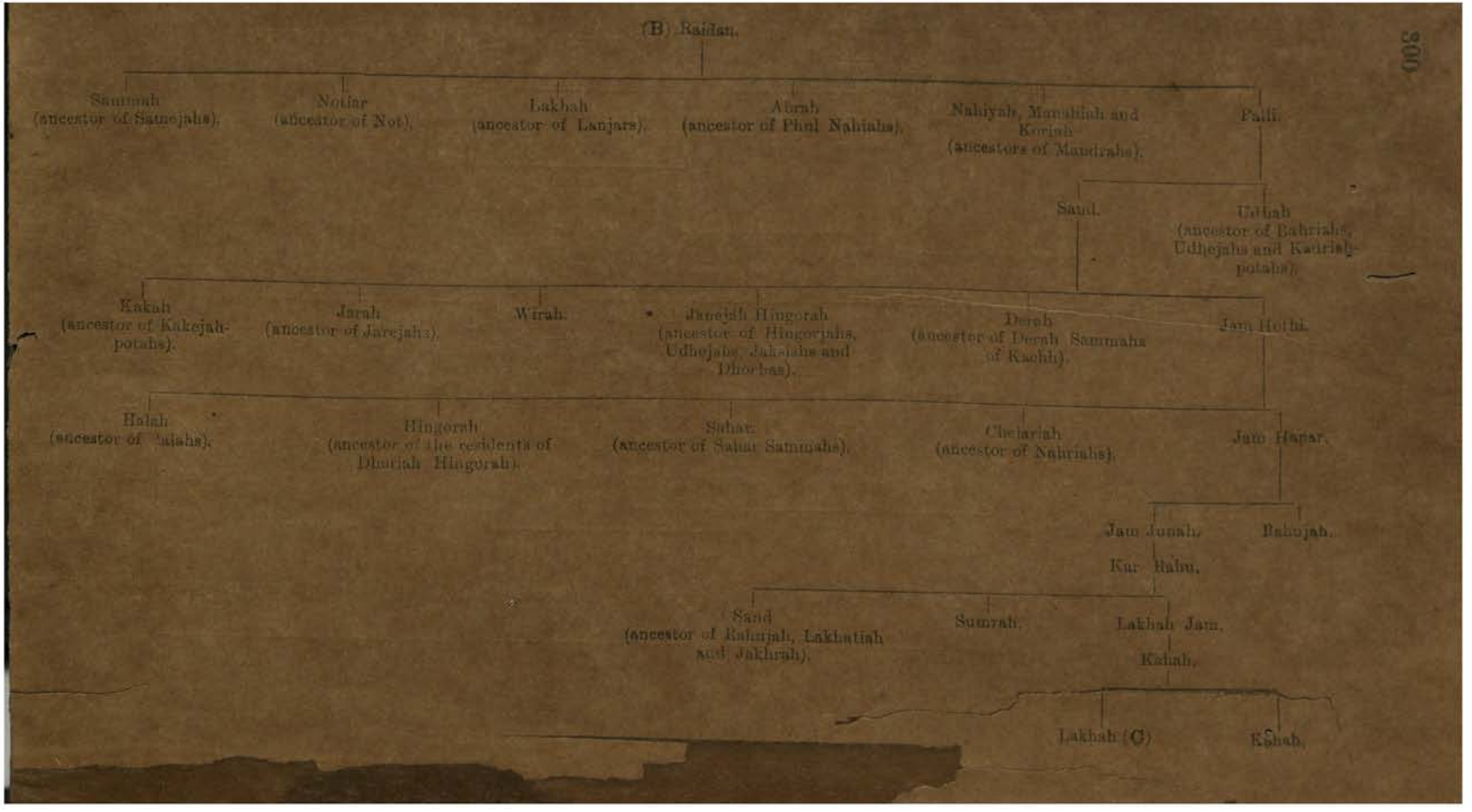
APPENDIX III.

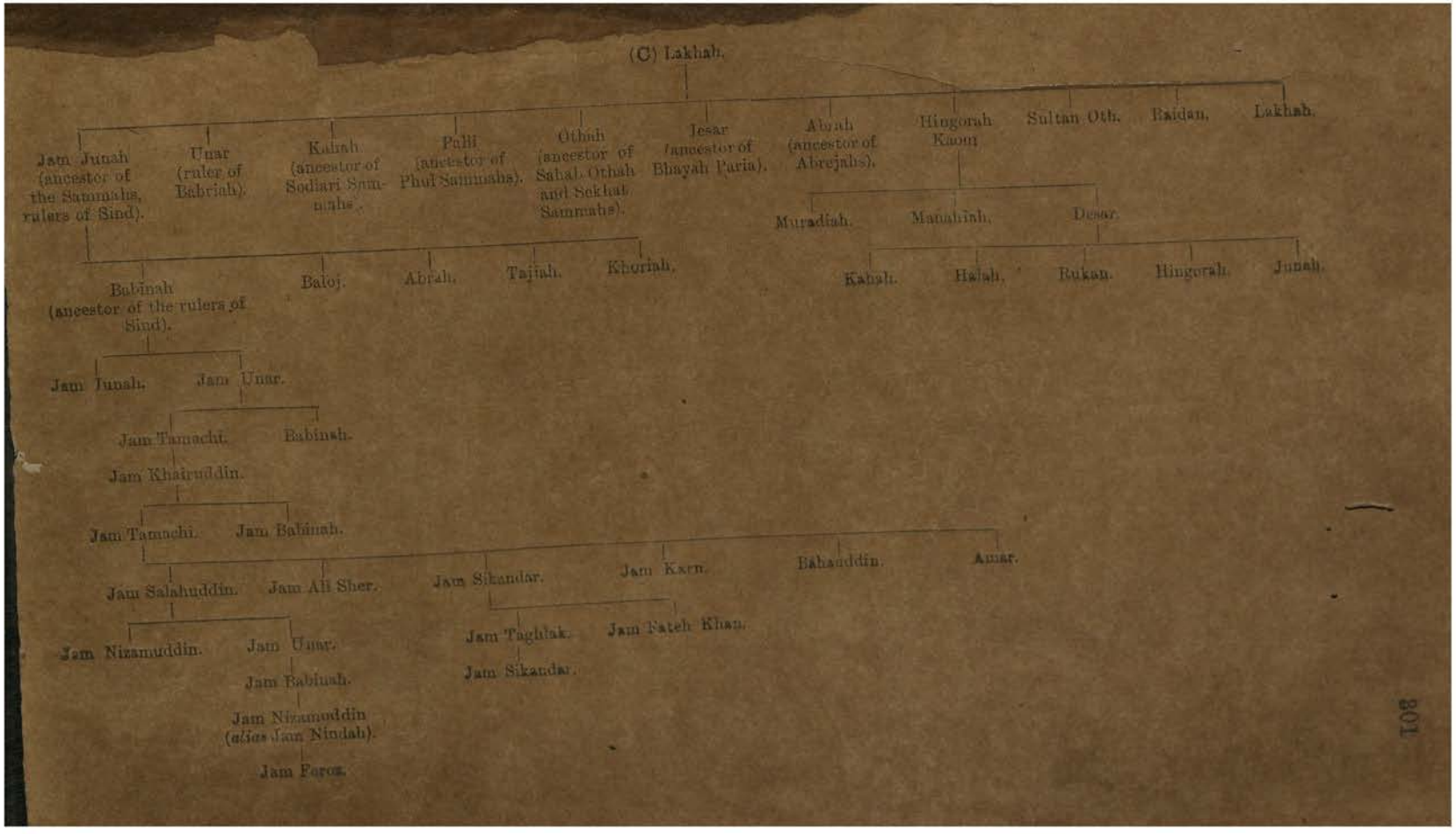
GENEALOGICAL TREES OF A FEW IMPORTANT PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE BOOK.

(1) *Genealogical tree of the tribe of Sammahs.*

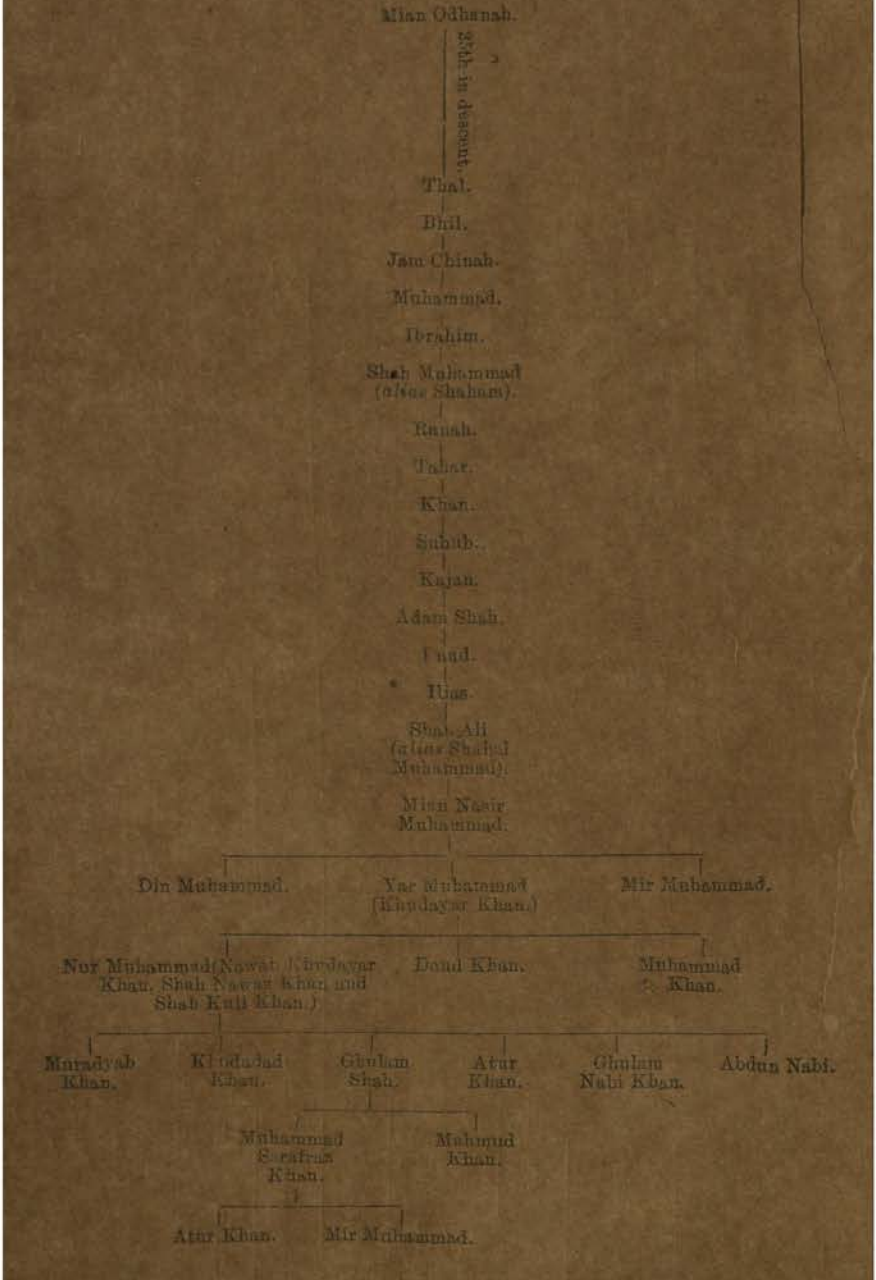
* *Note.*—Sam is said by some to be son of Noah; by others a descendant of Jamshed; by others son of Umar *wd.* Hasham *wd.* Abi Lahah; and by others son of Umar *wd.* Akramah *wd.* Abi Jahl.


(A.) San
Sam.
Jadam.
Barkarrah (alias Shah).
Hunrut (alias Dakhan).
Mawah.
Hispat (ancestor of the Sammahs of Sind).
Zabdari.
Nayyit.
Rano Tiara.
Odhar.
Udhah.
Lakhiar.
Lakhah.
Kajjat (ancestor of Chaghdahs).
Bahupat (ancestor of Bhattis).
Jora Sammah (ancestor of Rai Diaj of Karnal or Girnar, the husband of Sorath).
(By his wife Buthi Charah).
(By another wife).
Udhah (settled at Oudh).
Mahar, and 2 others.
Satiah.
Waditar Pathari.
Warha.
Saud.
Unar
Lakhah.
Sammah.
Chhuttah (who had 3 sons—Babrah, Danknah and Kalah).
Phul Lakhah (who had a son Kalani).
Manahiah.
Jakhrah.
Kakah. (Ruler of Kak or Kakah).
Palli (whose chief descendants were Masrak Sammahs).
Raidan (B)

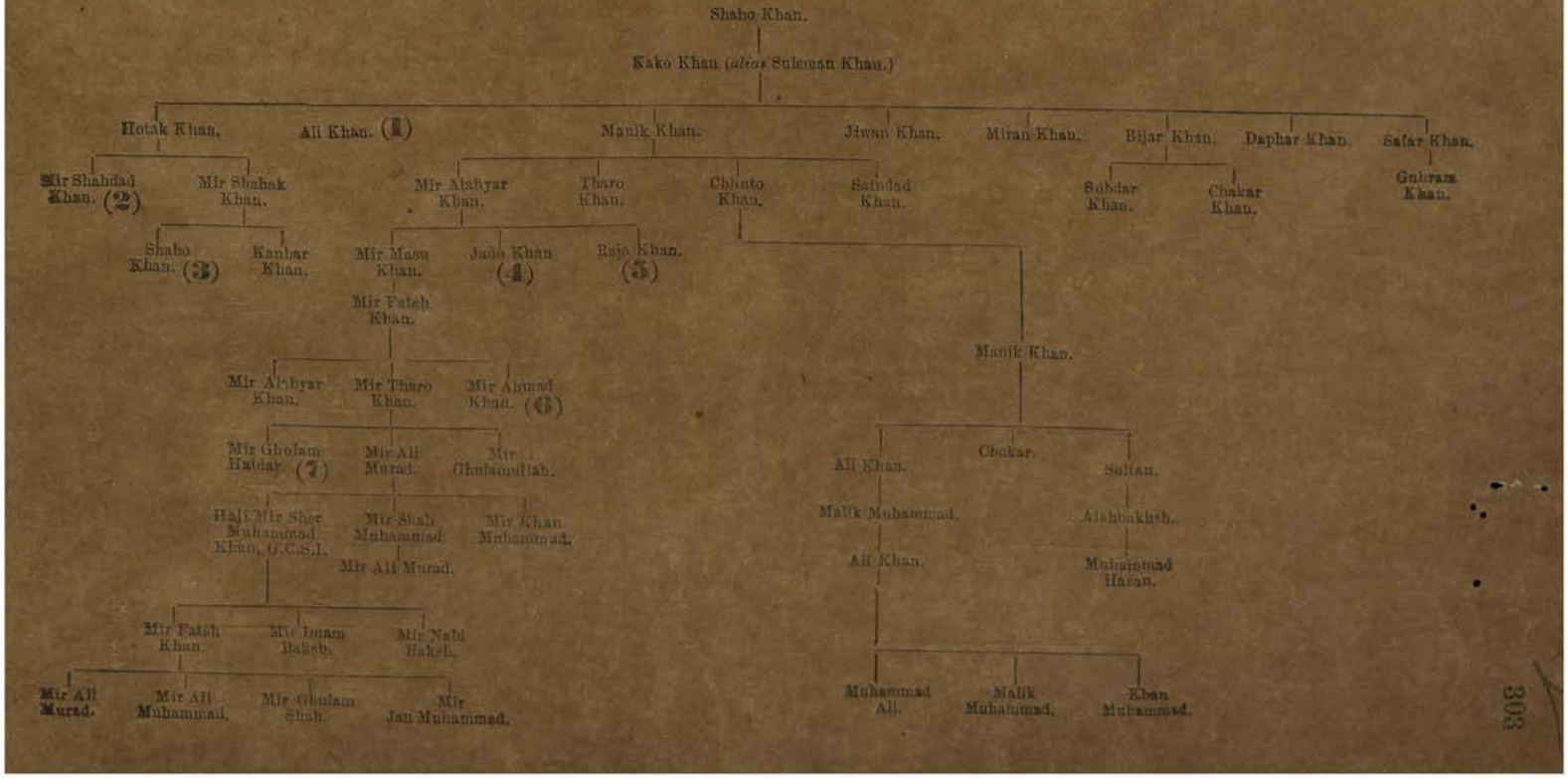

(B) Raidan.
Sammah (ancestor of Samejahs).
Notiar (ancestor of Not).
Lakhah (ancestor of Lanjars).
Abrah (ancestor of Phul Nahiahs).
Nahiyah, Mamdhah and Kerinh (ancestors of Mandrahs).
Palli.
Sand.
Udhah (ancestor of Bahriahs, Udhejahs and Kerinh-potahs).
Kakah (ancestor of Kakejah-potahs).
Jarah (ancestor of Jarejahs).
Wirah.
Janejah Hingorah (ancestor of Hingorjahs, Udhejahs, Jahejahs and Dhorbas).
Derah (ancestor of Derah Sammahs of Kachh).
Jam Hothi.
Halah (ancestor of Halahs).
Hingorah (ancestor of the residents of Dhoriah Hingorah).
Sihar (ancestor of Sihar Sammahs).
Chelariah (ancestor of Nahriahs).
Jam Hapar.
Jam Junah.
Bahojah.
Kur Rahu.
Sand (ancestor of Rahurjah, Lakhatiah and Jakhrah).
Sumrah.
Lakhah Jam.
Kahah.
Lakhah (C)
Kahah.

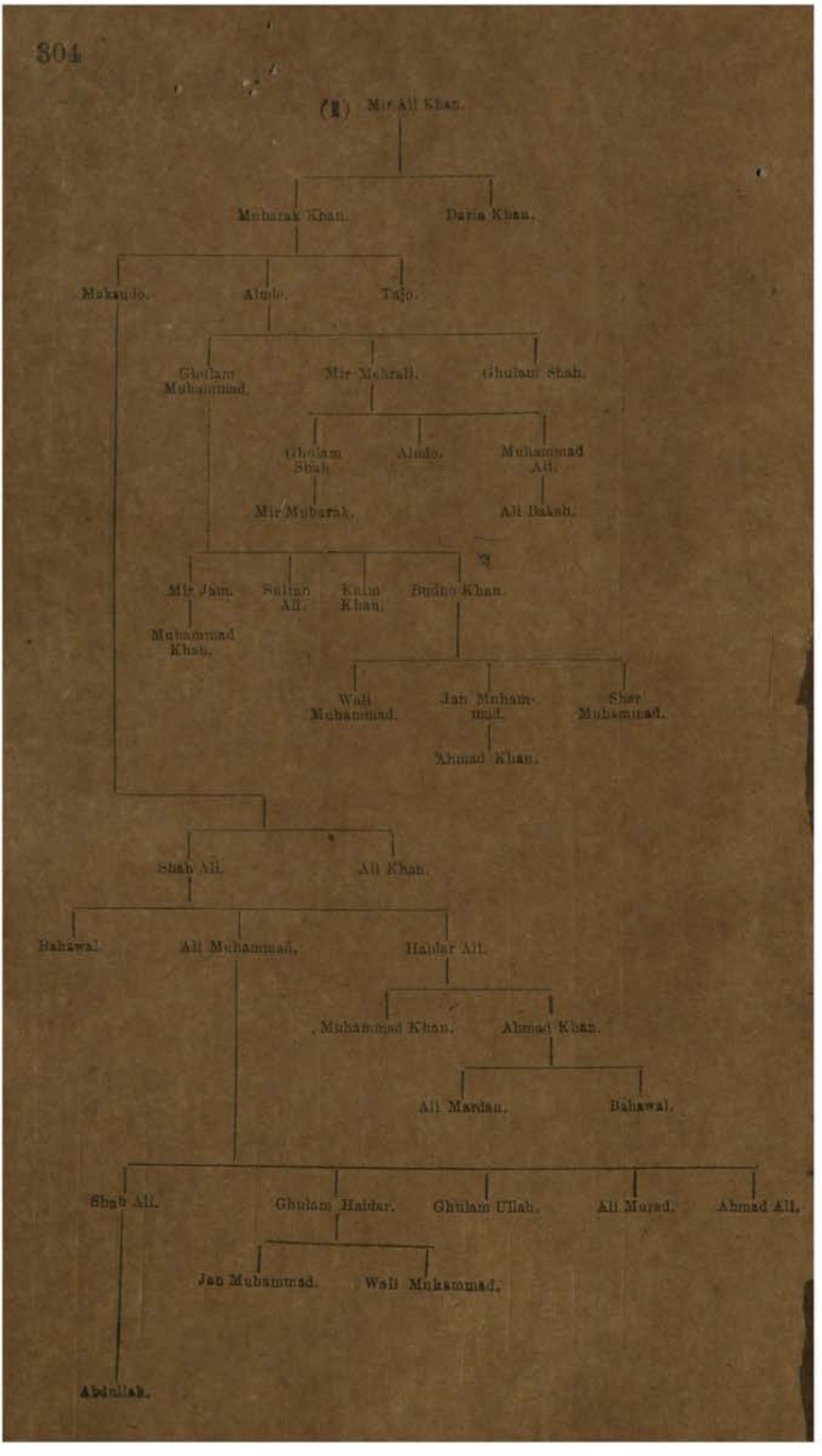

(C) Lakhah.
Jam Junah (ancestor of the Sammahs, rulers of Sind).
Unar (ruler of Babriah).
Kahah (ancestor of Sodiari Sammahs).
Palli (ancestor of Phul Sammahs).
Othah (ancestor of Sahal, Othah and Sekhah Sammahs).
Jesar (ancestor of Bhayah Paria).
Abyah (ancestor of Abrejahs).
Hingorah Khoon
Sultan Oth.
Baidan.
Lakhah.
Muradiah.
Mahabihh.
Desar.
Babinah (ancestor of the rulers of Sind).
Baloj.
Abrah.
Tajiah.
Khoriah.
Kahah.
Halah.
Rukan.
Hingorah.
Junah.
Jam Junah.
Jam Unar.
Jam Tamachi.
Babinah.
Jam Khairuddin.
Jam Tamachi.
Jam Babinah.
Jam Salahuddin.
Jam Ali Sher.
Jam Sikandar.
Jam Karn.
Bahauddin.
Amar.
Jam Nizamuddin.
Jam Unar.
Jam Babinah.
Jam Nizamuddin (alias Jam Nindah).
Jam Faroz.
Jam Taghlak.
Jam Fateh Khan.
Jam Sikandar.

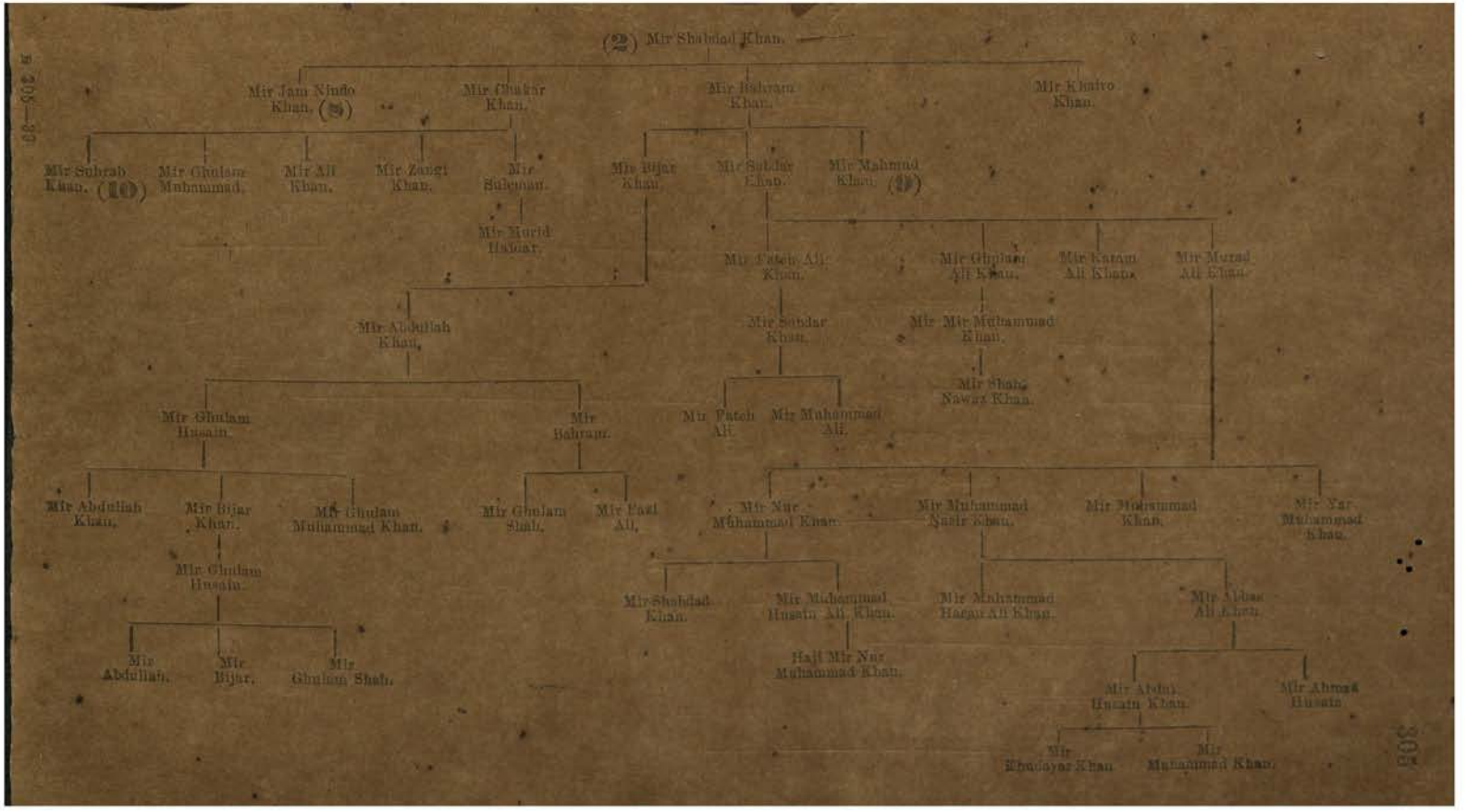
(2) *Genealogical tree of the Abbásis or Kalhórahs.*

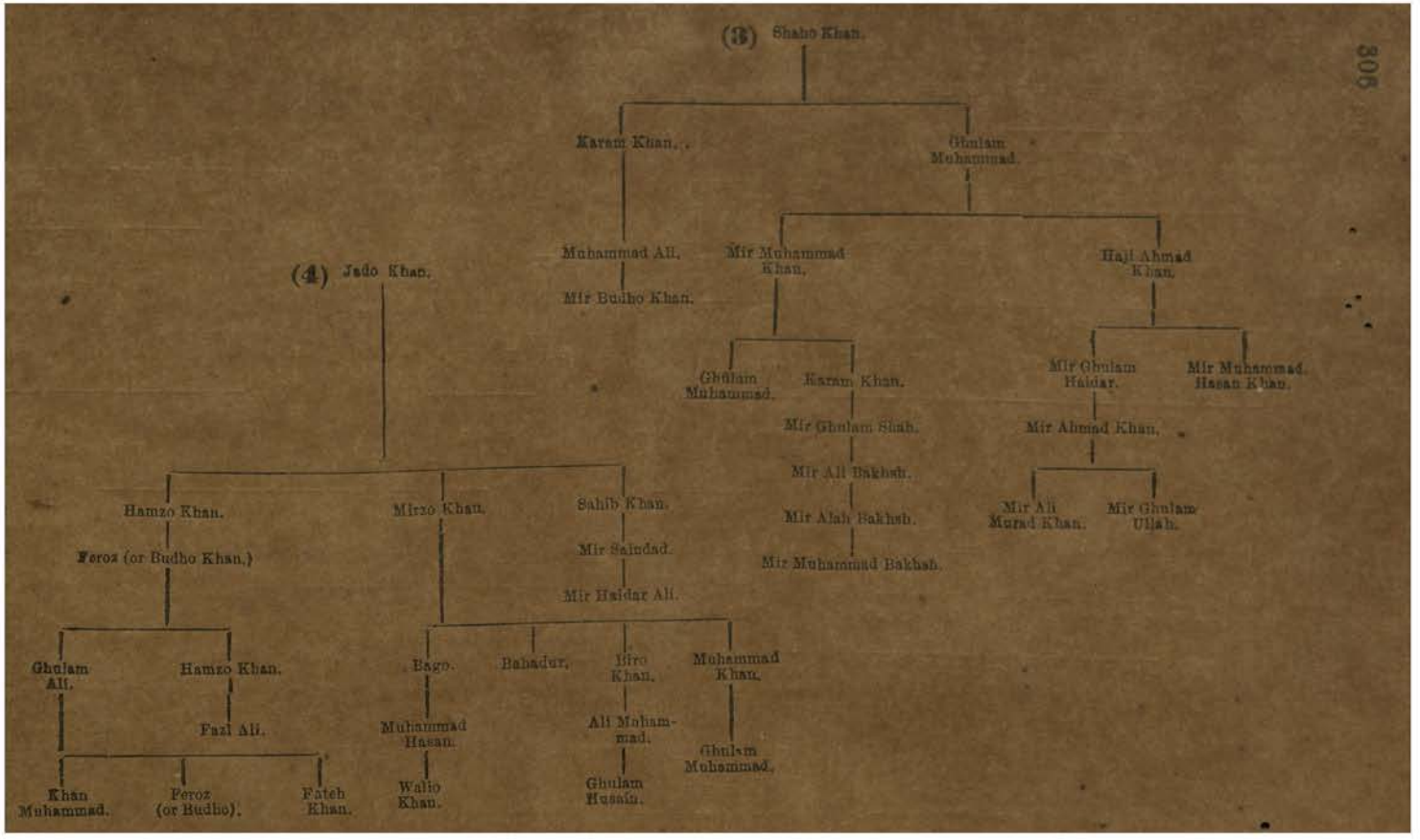


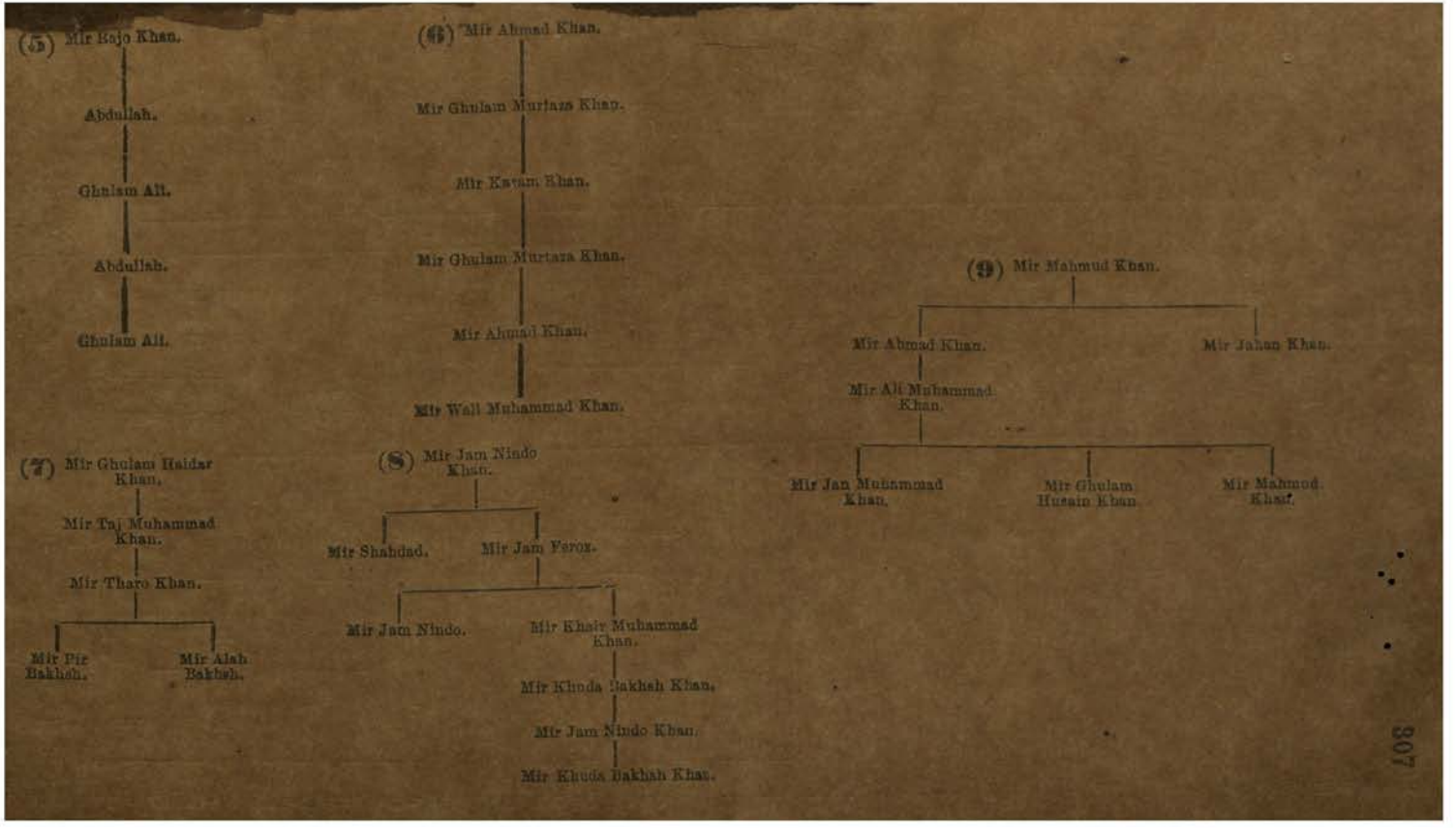
(3) *Genealogical tree of the Tálpurs (Mírs).*

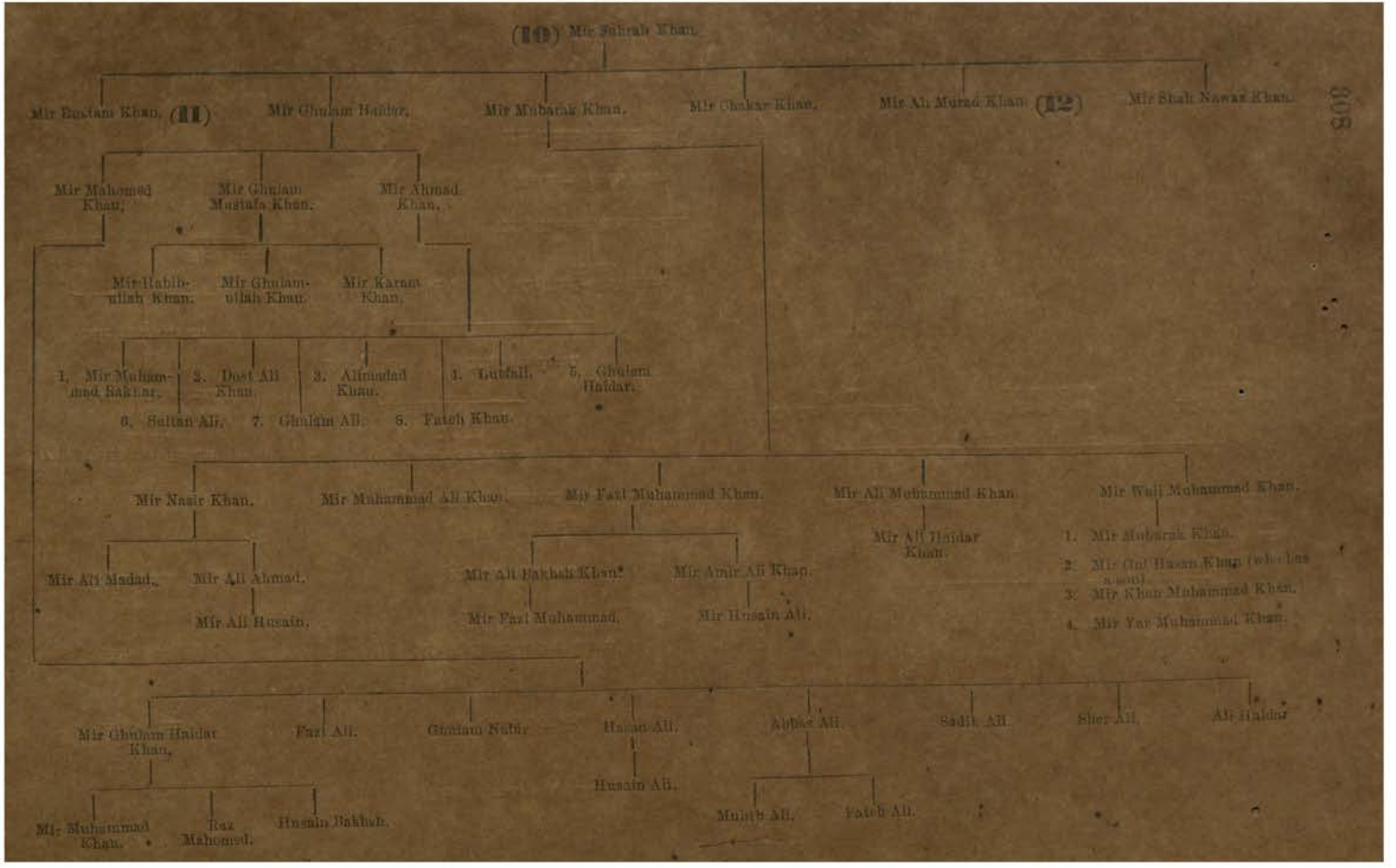


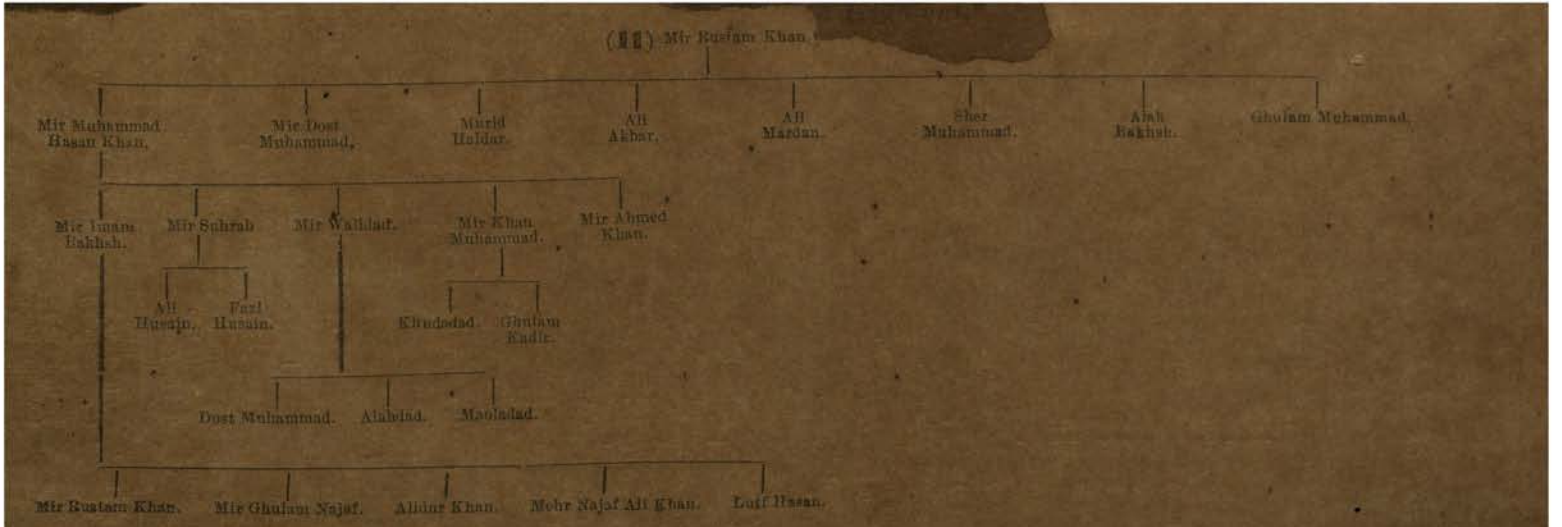

(1) Mir Ali Khan.
Mubarak Khan.
Daria Khan.
Maksudo.
Aludo.
Tajo.
Ghulam Muhammad.
Mir Mehrali.
Ghulam Shah.
Ghulam Shah
Aludo.
Muhammad Ali.
Mir Mubarak.
Ali Baksh.
Mir Jam.
Sultan Ali.
Kalu Khan.
Budho Khan.
Muhammad Khan.
Wali Muhammad.
Jan Muhammad.
Sher Muhammad.
Ahmad Khan.
Shah Ali.
Ali Khan.
Bahawal.
Ali Muhammad.
Haidar Ali.
Muhammad Khan.
Ahmad Khan.
Ali Mardan.
Bahawal.
Shah Ali.
Ghulam Haidar.
Ghulam Ullah.
Ali Murad.
Ahmad Ali.
Jan Muhammad.
Wali Muhammad.
Abdullah.


(2) Mir Shahdad Khan.
Mir Jam Nindo Khan. (8)
Mir Ghulam Khan.
Mir Bahram Khan.
Mir Khairo Khan.
Mir Sohrab Khan. (10)
Mir Ghulam Muhammad.
Mir Ali Khan.
Mir Zangi Khan.
Mir Sulaiman.
Mir Murid Haidar.
Mir Bijar Khan.
Mir Sabdar Khan.
Mir Mahmud Khan. (9)
Mir Abdullah Khan.
Mir Fateh Ali Khan.
Mir Ghulam Ali Khan.
Mir Karam Ali Khan.
Mir Murad Ali Khan.
Mir Sabdar Khan.
Mir Mir Muhammad Khan.
Mir Shah Nawaz Khan.
Mir Ghulam Husain.
Mir Bahram.
Mir Fateh Ali
Mir Muhammad Ali.
Mir Abdullah Khan.
Mir Bijar Khan.
Mir Ghulam Muhammad Khan.
Mir Ghulam Shah.
Mir Fazl Ali.
Mir Nur Muhammad Khan.
Mir Muhammad Nasir Khan.
Mir Muhammad Khan.
Mir Yar Muhammad Khan.
Mir Ghulam Husain.
Mir Shahdad Khan.
Mir Muhammad Husain Ali Khan.
Mir Muhammad Hasan Ali Khan.
Mir Abbas Ali Khan.
Mir Abdullah.
Mir Bijar.
Mir Ghulam Shah.
Hajji Mir Nur Muhammad Khan.
Mir Abdul Husain Khan.
Mir Ahmad Husain
Mir Khudayar Khan.
Mir Muhammad Khan.


(3) Shaho Khan.
Karam Khan.
Ghulam Muhammad.
Muhammad Ali.
Mir Budho Khan.
Mir Muhammad Khan.
Haji Ahmad Khan.
(4) Jado Khan.
Ghulam Muhammad.
Karam Khan.
Mir Ghulam Shah.
Mir Ali Bakhsh.
Mir Alah Bakhsh.
Mir Muhammad Bakhsh.
Mir Ghulam Haidar.
Mir Muhammad Hasan Khan.
Mir Ahmad Khan.
Mir Ali Murad Khan.
Mir Ghulam Ullah.
Hamzo Khan.
Mirzo Khan.
Sahib Khan.
Feroz (or Budho Khan.)
Mir Saindad.
Mir Haidar Ali.
Ghulam Ali.
Hamzo Khan.
Fazl Ali.
Khan Muhammad.
Feroz (or Budho).
Fateh Khan.
Bago.
Bahadur.
Biro Khan.
Muhammad Khan.
Muhammad Hasan.
Walio Khan.
Ali Muhammad.
Ghulam Hussain.
Ghulam Muhammad.


(5) Mir Rajo Khan.
Abdullah.
Ghulam Ali.
Abdullah.
Ghulam Ali.
(6) Mir Ahmad Khan.
Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan.
Mir Kavam Khan.
Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan.
Mir Ahmad Khan.
Mir Wali Muhammad Khan.
(7) Mir Ghulam Haidar Khan.
Mir Taj Muhammad Khan.
Mir Tharo Khan.
Mir Pir Bakhsh.
Mir Alah Bakhsh.
(8) Mir Jam Nindo Khan.
Mir Shahdad.
Mir Jam Feroz.
Mir Jam Nindo.
Mir Khair Muhammad Khan.
Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan.
Mir Jam Nindo Khan.
Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan.
(9) Mir Mahmud Khan.
Mir Ahmad Khan.
Mir Jahan Khan.
Mir Ali Muhammad Khan.
Mir Jan Muhammad Khan.
Mir Ghulam Husain Khan.
Mir Mahmud Khan.

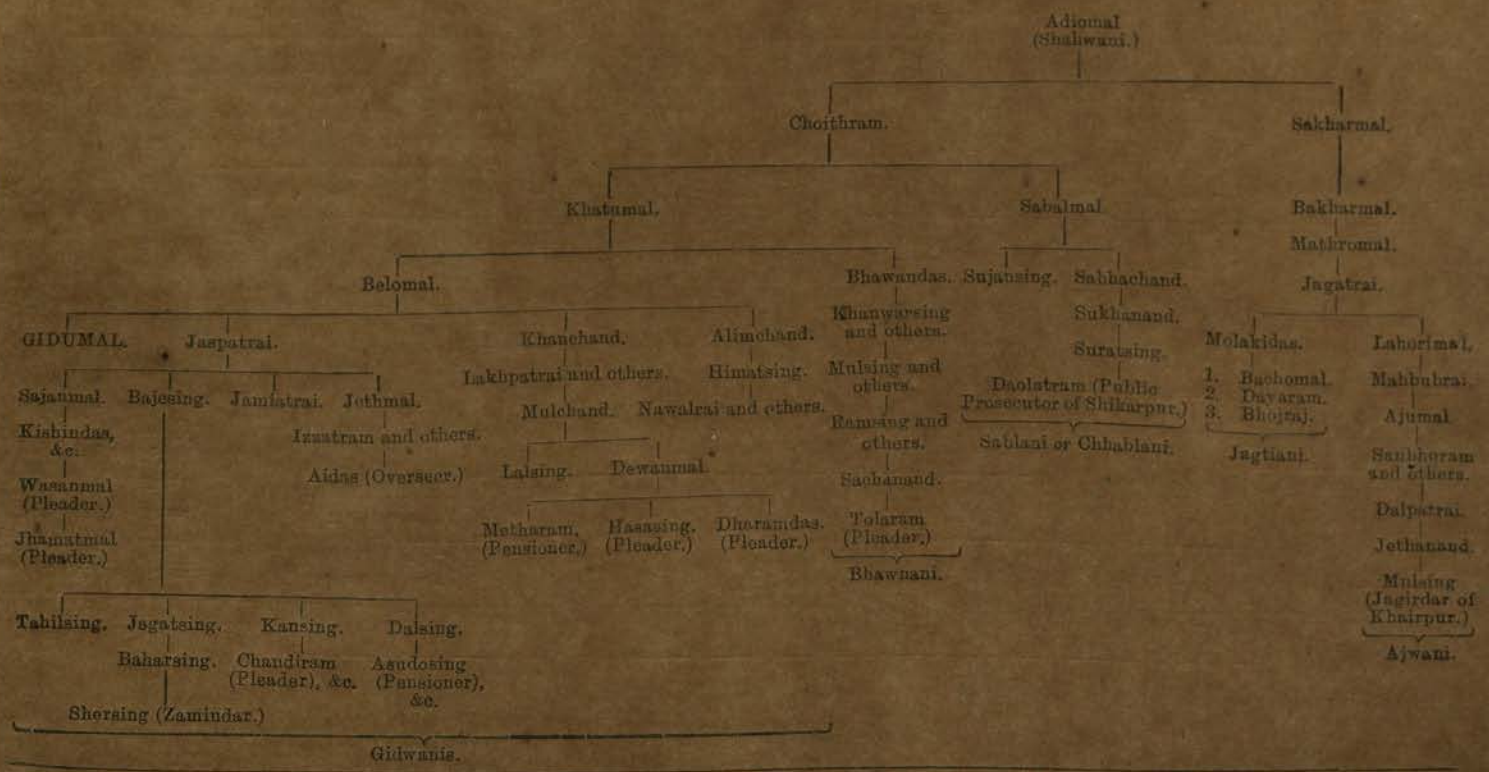

(10) Mir Sohrab Khan.
Mir Rustam Khan. (11)
Mir Ghulam Haidar.
Mir Mubarak Khan.
Mir Shakar Khan.
Mir Ali Murad Khan. (12)
Mir Shah Nawaz Khan.
Mir Mahomed Khan.
Mir Ghulam Mustafa Khan.
Mir Ahmad Khan.
Mir Habib-ullah Khan.
Mir Ghulam-ullah Khan.
Mir Karam Khan.
1. Mir Muhammad Bakhar.
2. Dost Ali Khan.
3. Ahmadad Khan.
4. Lutfali.
5. Ghulam Haidar.
6. Sultan Ali.
7. Ghulam Ali.
8. Fateh Khan.
Mir Nasir Khan.
Mir Muhammad Ali Khan.
Mir Fazl Muhammad Khan.
Mir Ali Muhammad Khan.
Mir Wali Muhammad Khan.
Mir Ali Madad.
Mir Ali Ahmad.
Mir Ali Husain.
Mir Ali Fakhah Khan.
Mir Amir Ali Khan.
Mir Fazl Muhammad.
Mir Husain Ali.
Mir Ali Haidar Khan.
1. Mir Mubarak Khan.
2. Mir Gul Hasan Khan (who has a son).
3. Mir Khan Muhammad Khan.
4. Mir Yar Muhammad Khan.
Mir Ghulam Haidar Khan.
Fazl Ali.
Ghulam Nabi.
Hasan Ali.
Abbas Ali.
Sadik Ali.
Sher Ali.
Ali Haidar
Husain Ali.
Mi- Muhammad Khan.
Raz Mahomed.
Husain Bakhsh.
Murtib Ali.
Fateh Ali.


(11) Mir Rustam Khan.
Mir Muhammad Hasan Khan.
Mir Dost Muhammad.
Murid Haidar.
Ali Akbar.
Ali Mardan.
Sher Muhammad.
Allah Bakhsh.
Ghulam Muhammad.
Mir Imam Bakhsh.
Mir Suhrab
Mir Walidad.
Mir Khan Muhammad.
Mir Ahmed Khan.
Ali Husain.
Fazl Husain.
Khudadad.
Ghulam Kadir.
Dost Muhammad.
Allahdad.
Maoladad.
Mir Rustam Khan.
Mir Ghulam Najaf.
Alidin Khan.
Mehr Najaf Ali Khan.
Lutf Hasan.

(12) Sir Mir Ali Murad Khan, K.C.S.I.
Mir Suhrab Khan.
Mir Shah Nawaz Khan.
Sir Mir Faiz Muhammad Khan.
Mir Jan Muhammad Khan.
Mir Khan Muhammad Khan.
Mir Ghulam Mahdi.
Mir Muhammad Murad.
Mir Ghulam Husain.
Mir Imam Bakhsh.
Mir Ahmad Ali Khan.

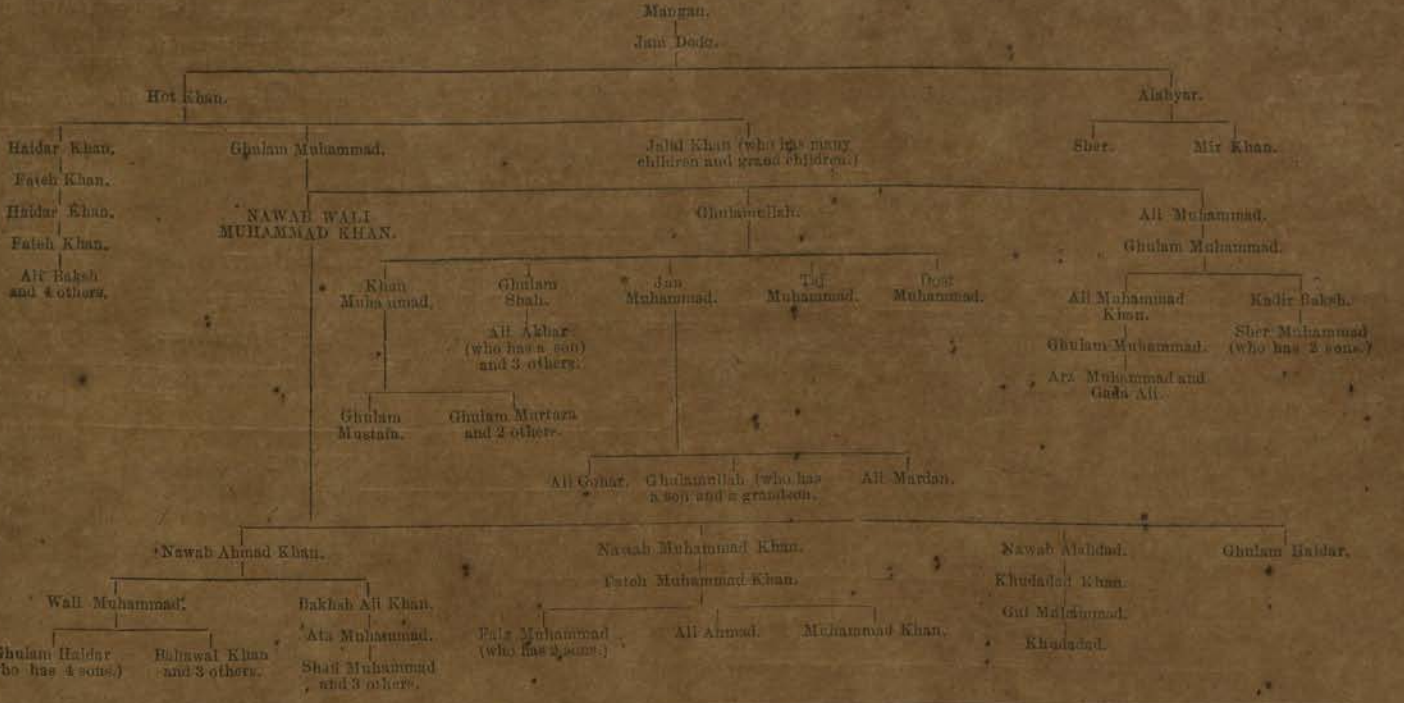
(4) *Genealogical tree of Shâh Karîm and Shâh Abdullatîf Bhitâi.*

(5) *Genealogical tree of Diwan Gidumal.**

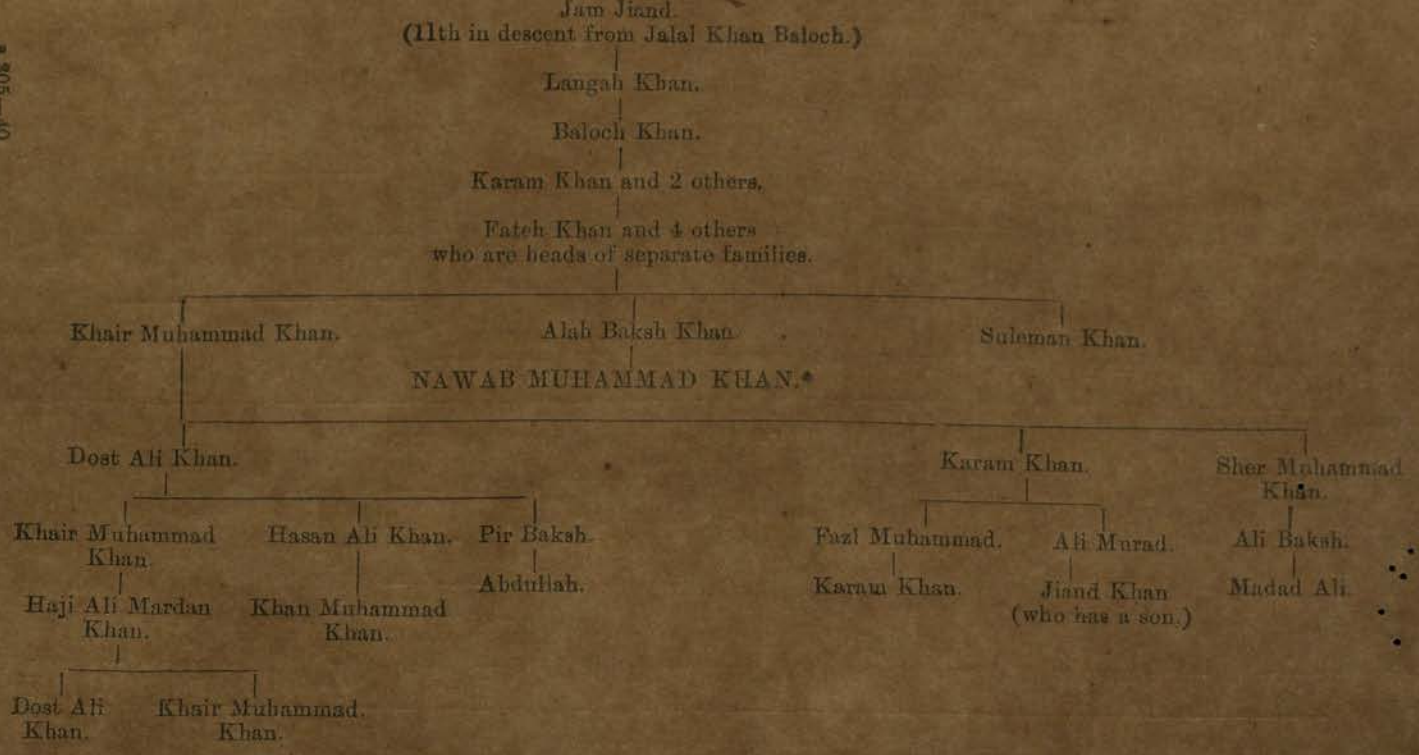


* *Note.*—This genealogical tree was copied from one supplied by Diwan Chandiram, pleader, and which had been copied from some other in 1886.

(6) *Genealogical trees of Nawábs Wali Muhammad Khán Lughárí and Muhammad Khán Thóró.*

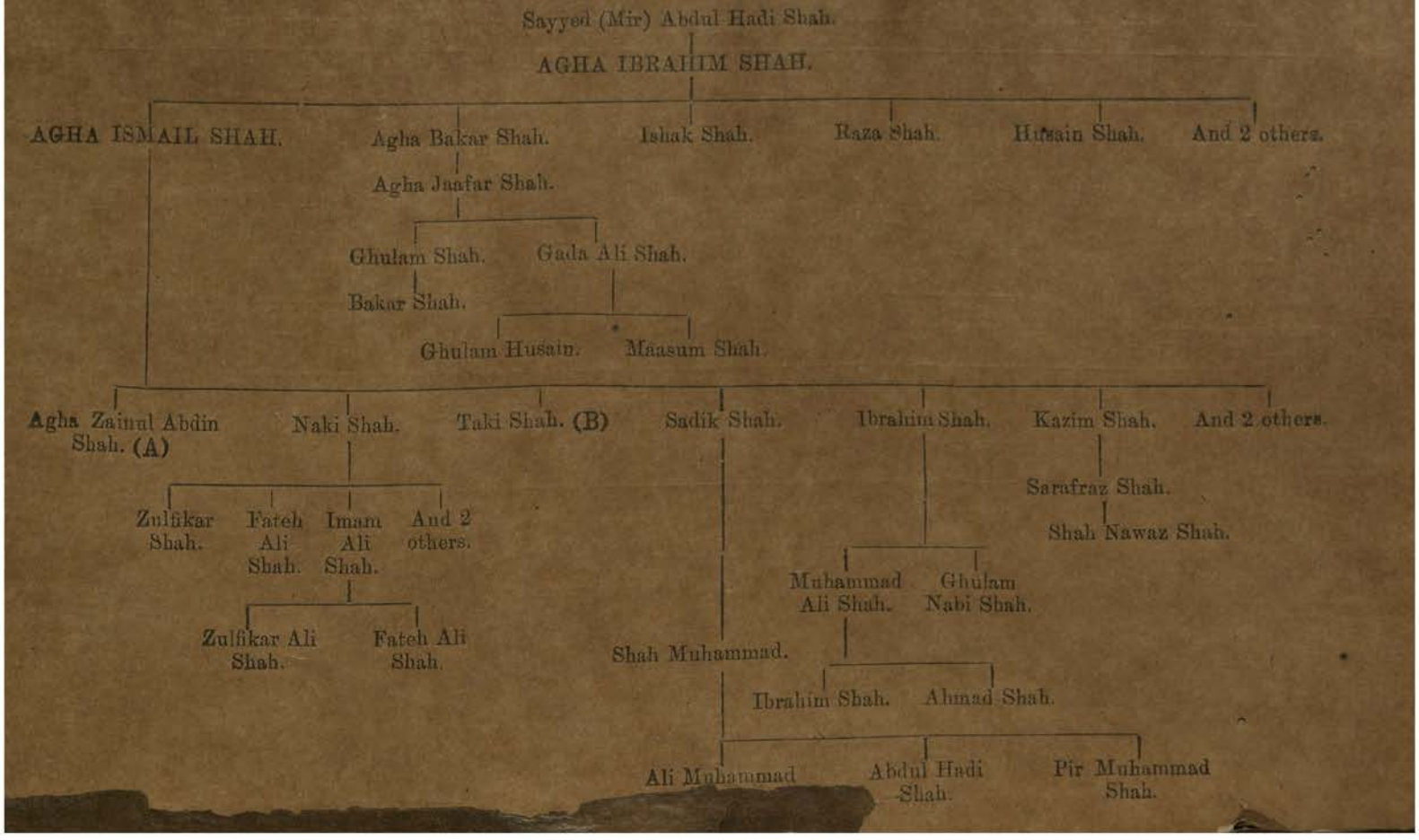


* *Note.*—Nawab Wali Muhammad Khan Laghari and Khair Muhammad Khan Thoro's mothers were sisters. It is said that Jam Jiand, the ancestor of the Thoros, had married his grand-daughter to Mangan, the ancestor of the Lugharis.



* Nawab Wali Muhammad Khan had a daughter only, whom he married to Khair Muhammad Khan son of Dost Ali Khan.

(7) *Genealogical tree of Aʻghás Ibráhím Sháh and Ismáil Sháh.*



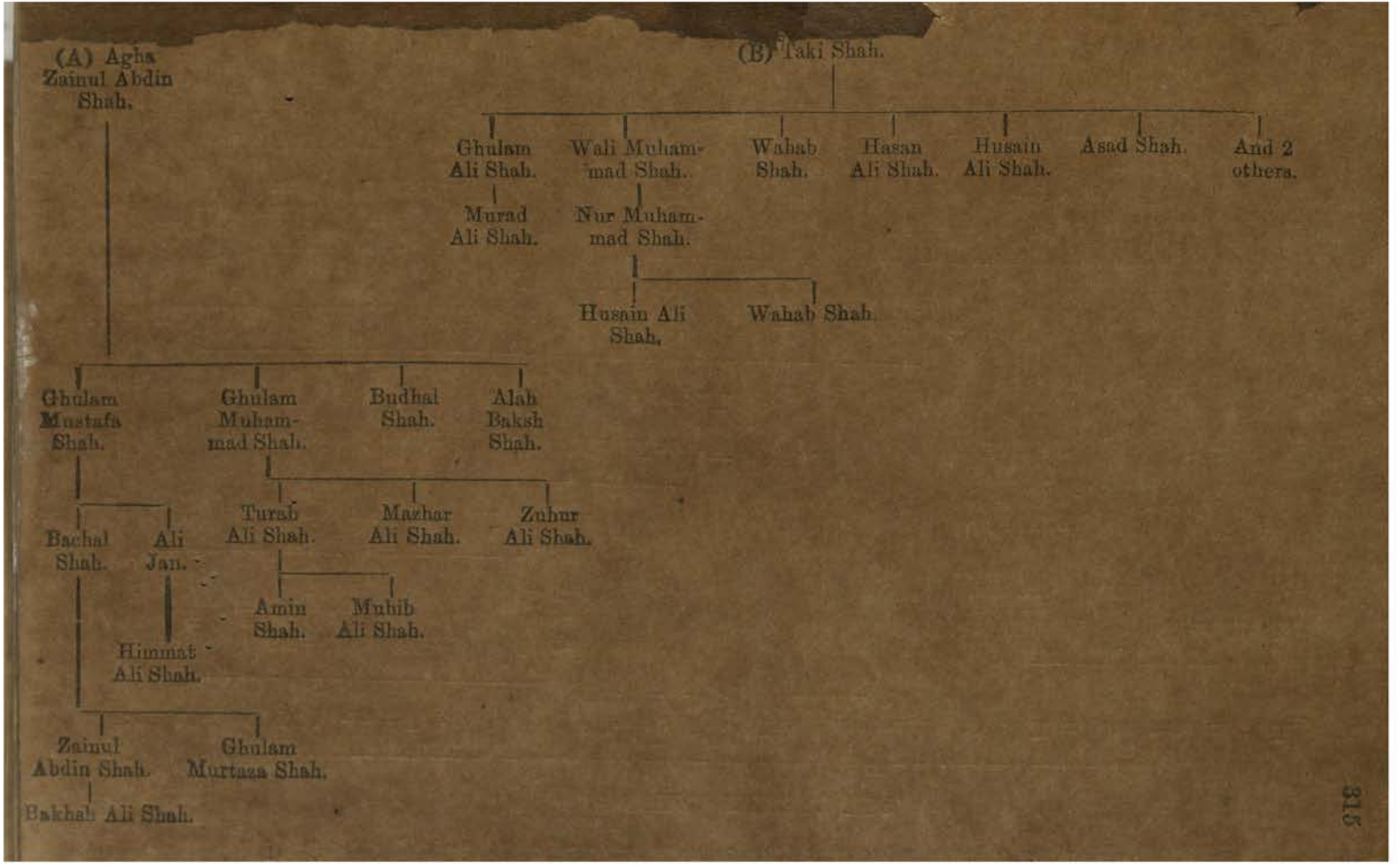
(8) *Genealogical trees of Mirzá Khusró Beg and other Georgian Mirzás.*

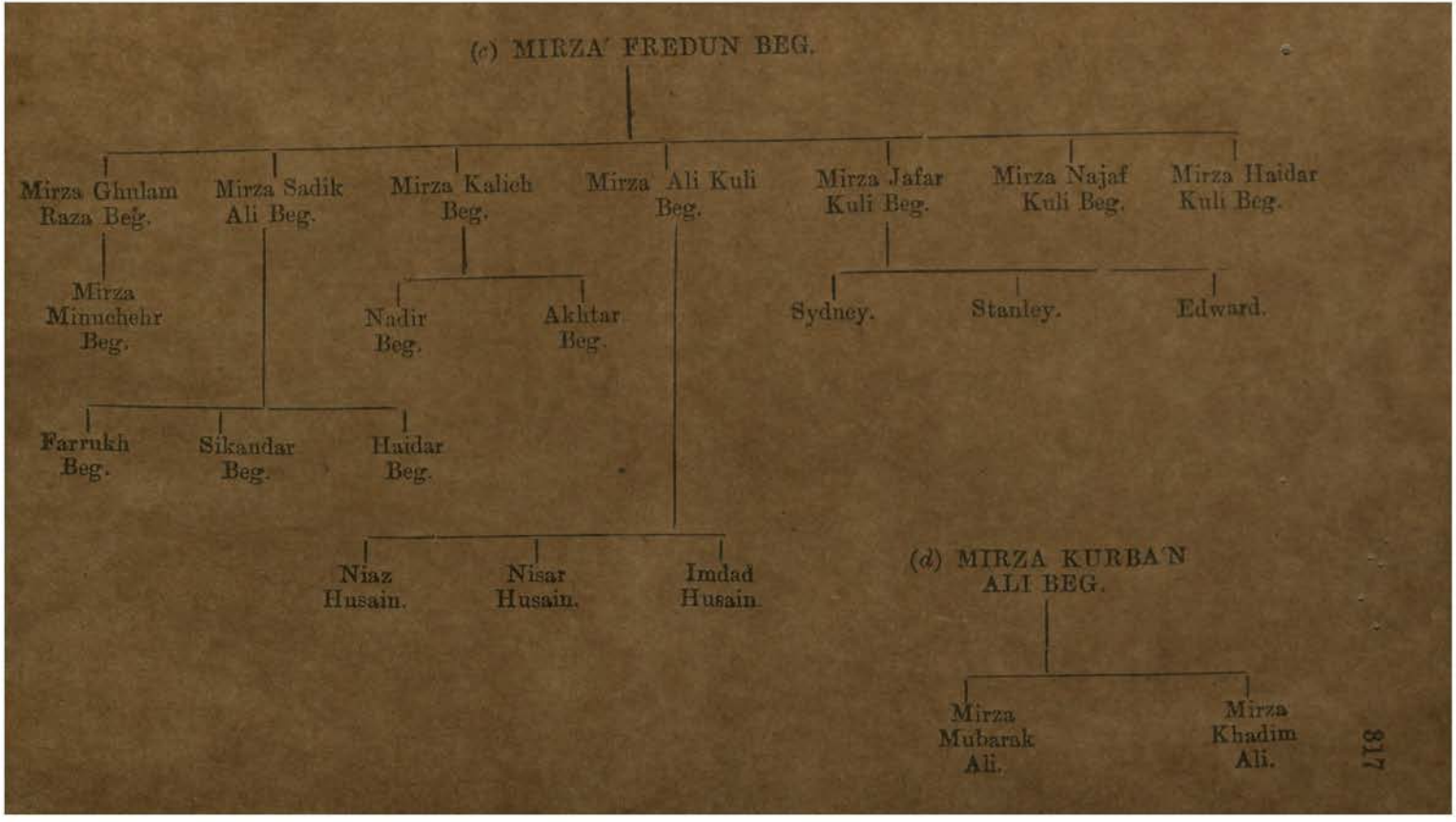
(*a*) MIRZA KHUSRO BEG.

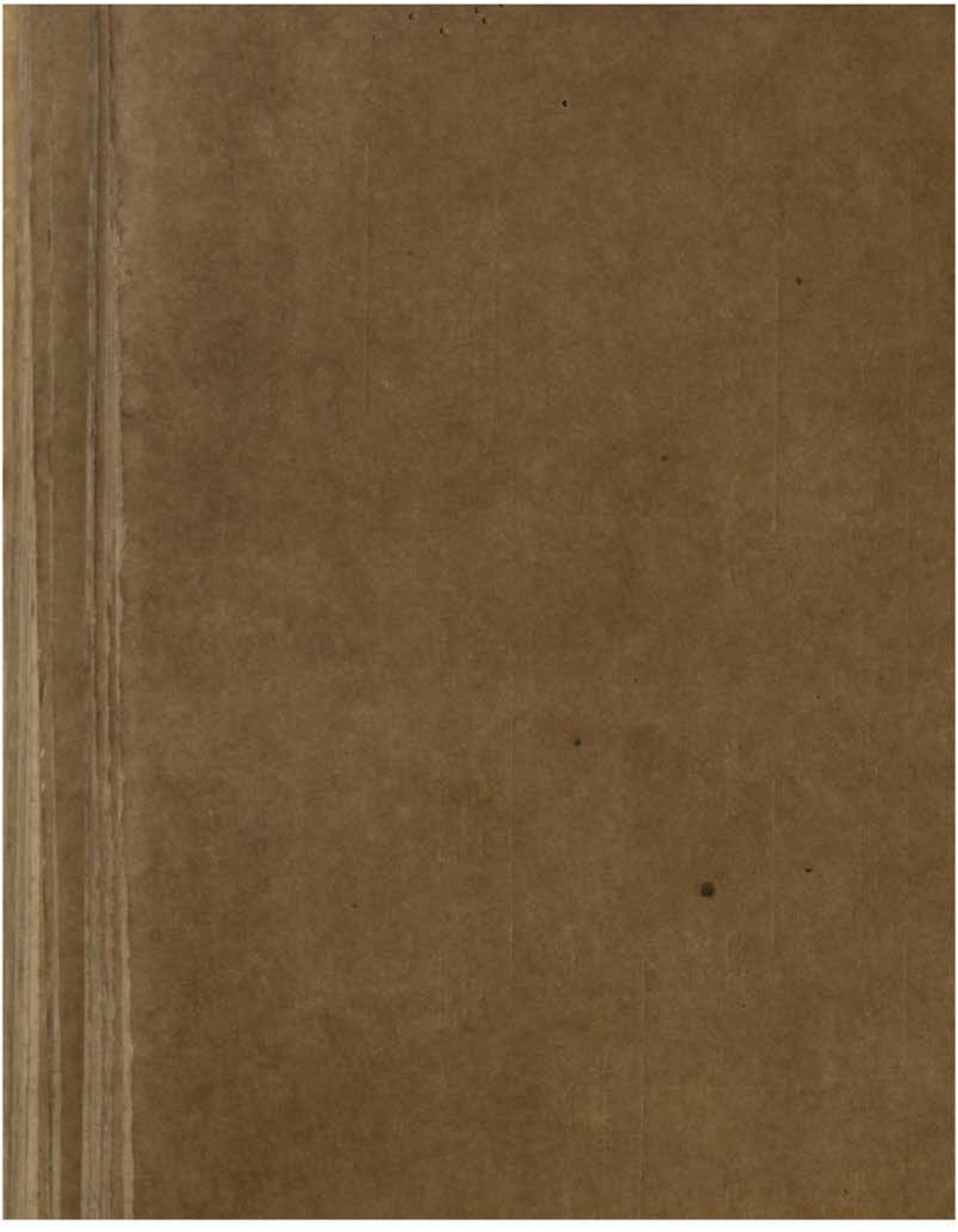
- K. B. Mirza Ali Muhammad Beg.
  - Mirza Alahwardi Beg.
    - Ali Akbar.
    - Muhammad Husain.
    - Ali Husain.
  - Mirza Imam Kuli Beg.
  - Mirza Kalb Ali Beg.
  - Mirza Aliyar Beg.
- Mirza Wali Muhammad Beg.
  - Mirza Ali Ashraf Beg.
  - Mirza Husain Kuli Beg.
    - Nasir Ali.
- Mirza Muhammad Rahim Beg.
  - Mirza Kazalbash.
    - Kazal Arslan.
  - Mirza Ali Ahmad.
    - Muhammad Akbar.
    - Muhammad Muzaffar.
  - Mirza Ali Nawaz.
  - Mirza Ali Madad.
  - Mirza Ali Abbas
  - And six others.
- Mirza Ghulam Murtaza Beg.
  - Mirza Ghulam Husain.
  - Mirza Ali Raza.

(*b*) MIRZA MUHAMMAD BAKAR.

- Mirza Band Ali Beg.
  - Mirza Ata Muhammad.
    - Abbas Ali.
  - Mirza Ahmad Ali.
  - Mirza Abdul Hasan.
- Mirza Muhib Ali Beg.
  - Mirza Faiz Ahmad.
- Mirza Nawaz Ali Beg.
  - Mirza Muhammad Kazim.
  - Mirza Muhammad Azam.
- Mirza Lutf Ali Beg.
- Mirza Sher Ali Beg.


(A) Agha Zainul Abdin Shah.
(B) Taki Shah.
Ghulam Ali Shah.
Wali Muhammad Shah.
Wahab Shah.
Hasan Ali Shah.
Husain Ali Shah.
Asad Shah.
And 2 others.
Murad Ali Shah.
Nur Muhammad Shah.
Husain Ali Shah.
Wahab Shah.
Ghulam Mustafa Shah.
Ghulam Muhammad Shah.
Budhal Shah.
Alah Baksh Shah.
Bachal Shah.
Ali Jan.
Turab Ali Shah.
Mazhar Ali Shah.
Zuhur Ali Shah.
Amin Shah.
Muhib Ali Shah.
Himmat Ali Shah.
Zainul Abdin Shah.
Ghulam Murtaza Shah.
Bakhah Ali Shah.


(c) MIRZA' FREDUN BEG.
Mirza Ghulam Raza Beg.
Mirza Sadik Ali Beg.
Mirza Kalich Beg.
Mirza Ali Kuli Beg.
Mirza Jafar Kuli Beg.
Mirza Najaf Kuli Beg.
Mirza Haidar Kuli Beg.
Mirza Minuchehr Beg.
Nadir Beg.
Akhtar Beg.
Sydney.
Stanley.
Edward.
Farrukh Beg.
Sikandar Beg.
Haidar Beg.
Niaz Husain.
Nisar Husain.
Imdad Husain.
(d) MIRZA KURBA'N ALI BEG.
Mirza Mubarak Ali.
Mirza Khadim Ali.



INDEX OF PART I.

Page.

A

Abábakr Mírzá 56
Abá Káán 54
Abáká Khán 54
Abán 30
Abbás 4, 19
Abbásí (s) ... 3, 29, 34
Abbaside (s) ...2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 28
Abd Manáf 2
Abd Shams 2
Abdul Aziz 1, 3
Abdul Fattáh 73
Abdul Khattáb 2
Abdulláh ... 1, 2, 3, 14, 30
Abdulláh Mírzá 56
Abdullátíf 124
Abdullatíf Mírzá ... 56
Abdul Malik 2, 3, 20
Abdul Mutlib 2, 30
Abdul Wahháb Puráuí ... 101
Abdurrahím 30
Abdurrahím Khán ... 111
Abdurrashíd 8, 36
Abdurraúf Mírzá ... 59
Abdurrazák 7, 29
Abdussamía Khán ... 133
Abrah 33, 34, 40
Abrah Sammah 40
Abrejah 34
Abik (or I'bak) 9
Abí Sifián 2
Abú Bakr 2, 17
Abúbakrshúh ... 22, 23, 24
Abú Hafas Kutaibiah ... 1
Abú Jahl 31
Abul Abbás 5, 6
Abú Lahab 31
Abulás 2
Abul Kásim Arghún ... 113, 121
Abul Kásim (Sultán) 115—119, 124, 127
Abul Mansúr 93
Abú Muhammad Mírzá... 50, 51
Abú Muslim 3, 4
Abú Said Bahádurkhán ... 54
Abú Said Mírza 59

Page.

Abú Tálib 2
Abú Turáb (Shekh) ... 5
Adak 35
A'dil 105
A'dil Khán 25
A'dil Khwájah 64
A'dil Khwájah (Isfahání).. 105
A'dil Sháh 82
Affán 2
Afghán (s) ... 106, 122
Africa 51
Agham 70, 71
Agham Kót 70
Agham Lúhánah ... 70
A'grah ... 28, 108, 120, 121, 127
Agrí 50
Ahmad Beg 115
Ahmad (Beg) Sultan. 115, 118, 121, 122
Ahmadkhán 55
Ahmad Khwájah ... 105
Ahmad Tarkhán ... 66
Ahnaf 1
Ajípár 31
Ajmer 107
Akbar ... 51, 86, 100, 101, 105—114, 118, 120, 121, 126
Akhel 31
A'kil 105
Akramah 31
Alabtagín 8
Alahábád... 127
Alah Kulí 118
Alahyár Khán 131
Aláuddaolah Mírzá ... 56
Aláuddín ... 8, 9, 15—18, 24, 37, 40, 75
Alexander 74
Aljáitú Khán 54, 55
Al Himár 3
Alí ... ... 2—5, 8, 29
Alíján 116, 131
Alí Khán... 74
Alí Khán Kúkah... 101, 104
Alípótú 91

Page.

Alí Sháh 42
Alí Shakar Beg 87
Alísher 18, 45, 99
Alór ... 1, 28, 29, 37, 38, 46, 69, 107
A'mar 45
Amín 4, 73, 74, 106
A'mir 1, 3
Amír (s) 25
A'mir Amráni ... 67, 79, 94
Amír Hasan 13, 14
Amír Khán 134
Amír Khusró ... ...13—15
Amír Láchín 13
Amírpur 128
Amír Taimúr ...27, (Kúrkán) 46, 54—56, 64, 93, 105, (Sáhib Kirán) 54, 71, 93
Amír Zunnún ... 57—60, 66
Amrah 31
Amúyah 60
Andalusia 5
Ansárí 30
Aoliá 13
Aórangzeb... 128 (A'lamgír) 129—131
Aótár 31
Arab (s) ... 7, 28—31, 38, 74
Arabí Gáhí 89, 90
Arab Kúkah ... 118, 119
A'rám Sháh 10, 28
Arghún (s) ... 53, 54, 57, 59, 60, 67, 74—79, 81, 89—91, 94—99, 106, 116, 118, 123, 124, 134
Arghún Khán ... 54, 55, 57
Arkalí Khán 15, 16
Armanbelah 30
Armel 36
Arór 69
Arsalán Sháh 8
Arshad Khán 130
A's 2
As-ad 11, 29
As-adí 1
As-adiah 29
Asám 31
Ashrafís 105
Asna Ashriah 61

Page.

Astrabád 57, 58
Atat 32
A'zarbáiján 56

B

Bábá Ahmad 73
Babarló 73, 82, 83, 89
Báber ..54, 59—63, 71, 74, 79—83, 87, 93
Báber Mírzá ... 56, 59, 60
Bábínah ... 34, 41—43, 49
Bábrah 32
Badah 31
Badakhshán ... 62, 87, 88
Badín 53, 101, 103, 104, 111
Badí-ul-Jamál 38
Badí-uzzamán Mírzá ...56—60
Bághbán 64, 66, 68, 74
Baghdád ... ... 4—6, 28, 38
Bahádur Khán 23, 24
Bahádur Náhir 24
Bahádur Sháh 131
Bahár ... .25, 127
Bahárlú 87
Bahá-uddín ... 13, 14, 21, 45
Bahlúdí 86
Bahlúl (Khán) Lódhí ... 75
Bahráj 12
Bahrám Karmatí ... 75
Bahrám Mírza 126
Bahrámpur 42, 128
Bahrám Sháh 8, 10
Bahriah (s) 33, 34
Balúpat 32
Báidú Khán 54
Bairam Khán ... 87, 100, 106
Báisankar 56
Bájár 29
Bakár 5
Bakhar 11, 12, 16, 18, 20, 21, 29, 42, 46, 47, 49, 52, 64, 66, 69—70, 73—79, 81—101, 105—111, 120, 122, 127—129, 132, 134
Bakhshó Lángáh 83, 87, 88
Bakr 3
Bakrá Khán 10
Balban 10, 13

	Page
Balkh	13, 59
Balóch	47, 61
Balóch (es)	30, 34, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 87, 96
Balóch Jats	73
Balóchis	19
Balój (or Balóch) ...	30
Bani Mug'tairah... ...	29
Bani Tamim	29
Bani Ummiah	2, 3
Bani Utbah	29
Banwálís	29
Bárah	132
Barkal	55
Bar Karrah	32
Barlás	131
Bart	31, 32
Bathórah...	83, 86, 89, 128, 132
Batí	73, 74
Bátú Khán	55
Bayánah	25
Bazír	31
Beg Oghlí	107
Bekánír	85
Bengál ...	16, 21, 24, 25, 81, 82
Besúká Bahádur	11
Bhágrat	31
Bhái Khan (Arab Kúkah)	114, 116, 118, 122, 126, 128
Bhág Nai	28
Bhanbhór	5, 28
Bhanbhórái	5, 28
Bhanbrá	38
Bhatti (s) ...	25, 26, 32
Bhayahparía	34
Bhúngar	35, 36
Bishkal	21
Brahmanábád	28, 38
Brahmin	39
Budhá	31
Bulghár	54
Bulrá	132
Burhán	29
Buthi Chárah	32

C

Cháchik	53
Cháchikán ...	53, 72, 83, 101
Chachnámah	29
Chaghdah	32
Chanah	28
Chándiás	77
Chándikó ...	68, 70, 111
Chándúkah	50
Chanesar ...	33, 36, 37
Chanesar Námah ...	117
Change-z Khán ...	11, 15, 17, 54, 55, 59, 126
Chanón	28
Chárah Hingórah ...	33
Chárar (s)	40
Chárará	32
Charkas Khán	126
Chár-Hazárí	128
Chatrkan	31, 32
Chattah Amráoí... ...	38
Chelóriah	33
Chhuttah	32
Chighatá Khán	54, 55
Chinchak Begum ...	88, 93

D

Dádú	66
Dadú Phattú	35
Dahar	73
Dáhar Náhiah	33
Daharís	73
Dahkah	35
Dakhan	32
Dalúr	37
Dalúrái	28, 37, 38
Damík	9
Dankanah	32
Daólatábád	18
Daólat Katah	61
Daólat Sháh	64
Daólatrái...	115
Dárá Shikóh	129
Dara Siwí	28
Darak	41
Darbelah...	...28, 72, 97, 111
Dariah	28
Dariáhí	102
Darweshes	29
Daryá Khán	...50—54, 63—67, 118, 119
Dasrat	31

Page.

David 31
Dáwar ... 57—60, 126
Dayárbakar 56
Debálpur ... 1, 17, 25, 26
Dehlí ...7, 9—27, 35, 37, 40—47, 75, 76, 80, 93, 100, 105, 126, 129
Derá Ghází Khán ... 78
Derah 28, 31, 33
Derah Sammah 33
Desar 34
Dethah 28
Dhamách 28
Dhárejah (s) 68, 69
Dhórhás 33
Dhóriah Hingórah ... 33
Diláwar 78, 85
Dilshád 49
Dípalpur 1
Díwán 20, 115
Dódá 35, 36
Dódáís 77
Duábah 23
Du-Hazárí 127

E

Egypt 19
Ejal Núyán 55
Elankar Bahádur ... 55
El Khán 54
Eltamish ... ...10—13
Erómjí Barlás 55
Europeans 95

F

Fakhr Malak 17, 18
Fakír (s) 132, 133
Faójdár 127, 129, 131
Farid 82
Faríduddín 12
Farrukh 94
Farrukh Siyar ... 132, 133
Farrukhzád 8
Fárúkís 29
Fateh Bágh...111, 113, 118—120
Fateh Khán ... 22, 45, 105

Page.

Fatehpur... ...29, 61, 64, 106
Fátimah 30
Fazlulláh 26
Feróz 15
Ferózábád ... 22, 23, 26
Ferózábád Dehlí... ... 22
Feróz Khán 26
Feróz Khán Lángah ... 76
Ferózsháh ...17, 20—26, 43, 44
Ferózsháhí rupees ... 81
Ferózuddín 12
Firdósí 6

G

Gájiáh 132
Gandiah 44
Gangá 37
Ganjabah 64, 108
Gháró 77
Ghayásuddín...8—10, 13—18, 35
Gházán Khán 55
Gháziáh 132
Ghází Beg 114—117, 119, 120, 122
Ghází Khán 78
Ghází Malak ... 17, 18, 35
Ghaznf ... 6—10, 28, 35, 36, 60, 75, 88, 131
Ghór ... 6—8, 11, 35, 57, 58
Góhartáj Khánum ... 106
Gujar 37
Gujrát ... 16, 19, 21, 24, 43—45, 51, 67, 68, 70—72, 80—83, 87, 92, 107
Gulbarg Begum 74, 93
Guáliár 25

H

Hádí 4
Haft-Hazárí 129
Hadíkatul-aoliá ... 44
Haibat Alí Khán ... 67
Haidar 121, 123
Hajj 89
Háji 52, 53
Hajjáj 1

Page.

Hakam 2
Hákim 29
Hálah 33, 34
Hálá (h) 72, 112
Hála (h) kandí ...35, 72, 83, 112, 124, 133
Halákú (or Halágú) Khán 5, 54, 55
Hálání 29
Halúkhar... 50
Hamahr 31
Hamal Jat 132
Hámán 5
Hamídah Bánú Begum ... 86
Hamímah... 4
Hamír 36
Hamzah 30
Hapar 33
Háris 29
Harún 30
Harún Makráni... ... 30
Harún Rashíd 4, 5, 28
Hasan 2, 13
Hashám 1, 3
Háshim 2, 31
Hawwá 30
Hazárah ... 13, 57, 59, 74, 88
Hímah Kót 28
Himmat 132
Hímú 35
Hind 1, 6, 72
Hindú (s) 16, 102, 114, 123, 128
Hindú Khán ... 123—126
Hindustán... 7, 9, 10, 15, 28, 43, 70, 74, 75, 93, 96, 100, 106, 110, 117
Hingórah 33, 34
Hingórah Kaónr... ... 34
Hingórjás 33
Hirát 52, 57—59, 73, 105, 128
Hisámuddín Mírak ... 74
Hispat 32
Hóthí 33
Humairáh 30
Humairí 30
Humáyún... 17, 80—88, 93, 100
Humáyún Khán ... 24
Hunrut 32
Husain 8

Page.

I

Iatimád Khán 122
Iatimád Khán Khwájah... 109
Ibáká Khán 55
Ibráhím 3, 8, 56, 75
Ibráhím Mírzá 56
Idrákí Beg 117
Ikhlás Khán 20
Imám (s) 61
India 8
Indus 12
Irák ... 1, 3, 56, 61, 88
Irák Ajam 127
I'rán 55, 56
I'sá 5
I'sáí 105
I'sá Tarkhán 117
Isfahán 105
Is-hák 5
Islám 1, 55
Islámism 130
Ismáil ... 3, 8, 13, 29, 52
Isphán 64
Izzat Pír... 129

J

Jaafar Alí 119
Jabriah (s) 29
Jádam 32
Jágír (s) ... 96, 106, 110—114, 122, 125, 126, 128, 134
Jahánábád 23
Jahándársháh 132
Jahángír ... ...120, 125—128
Jahánsóz 9
Jajah 28
Jakhrah 32, 33
Jaksiah (s) 33
Jalál 30
Jalál Jahánián 14
Jaláluddín ... 12, 15, 16
Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar 86
Jaláluddín Muhammad Duábí 50
Jám (s) ... 21, 31, 41, 44—48, 51, 53, 64, 74, 117, 118, 128

Page.

Jám Alí Sher 45
Jám Bábinah 43, 44
Jám Dáúd 118
Jám Desar ... 99, 117
Jám Fateh Khán ... 46, 47
Jám Feróz ...51—53, 63—68, 70—72
Jám Hálah ... 117, 118
Jám Hápar 33
Jám Hóthí 33
Jám Júnah ... 21, 33, 34, 42
Jám Karn 46
Jám Khairuddín... 21, 43, 51
Jám Mubárak 47
Jám Nindó ... 49, 50, 62, 65
Jám Nizámuddín... 45, 49—51
Jám Báinah 47, 48
Jám Saláhuddín ... 44, 45, 52, 53, 67
Jám Sanjar ... 48, 49, 51
Jám Sárang 66
Jám Sikandar 47, 48
Jám Tamáchí ... 42—46
Jám Taghlak 47
Jám Unar ... 41—43
Jamádi-al-awwal...23—25, 48, 84, 86, 108
Jamádissání 13, 88
Jamáluddín 114
Jam-shed 31
Jamún 25
Ján Bábá... 96, 97, 99, 100
Janejah 33
Jání Beg ... 101, 103, 109—113
Jánspá 32
Járah 33
Járejah (s) 19, 20, 67, 81, 96
Jarímah 30
Jasódhan 28
Jat (s) 30, 77
Jesalmer 86, 96, 107
Jesar 28, 34
Jetpur 80
Jhángár 29
Jhim 28
Jhók 132
Jim 53
Jitór 80, 81
Jiyah 28

Page.

Jhódó 67
Jhódó Sódhó 79
Jódhpur 85, 86
Jorá-Sammah 32
Júji Khán 54, 55
Jún ...22, 23, 67, 82, 86, 87, 111
Júnah 21, 34, 42
Júnpur 82, 86, 87

K

Kabáchah ... 10, 11, 28
Kabád Khán 129
Kabchák ... ... 54—57, 126
Kábul ...59—61, 63, 74, 82, 88, 93, 122
Kachh ...30, 35, 39—41, 44, 47, 72, 79, 80, 96, 104, 115
Kádir Billáh ... ... 5—7
Kádriah-pótás 33
Káhah 33, 34, 41, 42
Káhán 52
Káhir Billáh 5
Kaikabád 10
Kai Khusro 15
Kais 1
Kajpat 32
Kajreli 48
Kájuli Bahádur 55
Kák 33
Káká 37
Kákar 32, 33
Kákejah-pótás 33
Kákepótás 33
Kákir 108
Kakrálah...99, 100, 117, 118, 128
Kákrí 111
Kalah 32
Kalandar... ... ... 14, 20
Kalán Kót 34, 113
Kalánúr 21
Kalhórah (s) 29, 134
Kalich Khán 12
Kalmáti Jatóis 81
Kandal 19
Kandelí (or Kandí) ... 48
Kandhár...50, 57—63, 73, 82, 87, 88, 93, 121—126

Page.

Kahúj 25
Kaórejah Sammah ... 28
Kárah 33
Karájár Núyán 55
Karámatiah 75
Kárí 125
Karu 45
Karnál 19, 32, 128
Kar Rahú 33
Kaselá 31
Kashghar 55
Kásim Alí Sultán Sárbán.. 101
Kásim Arghún 102
Kásim Kúkah 93
Kátiar 116
Kází (s) 29, 49, 71, 92
Kazí Abdulláh 51
Kází Burhán 29
Kází Dittó 92
Kází Kázan ... 65, 66, 68, 69, 71
Kází Maarúf 49
Kázim 133
Kebah 31
Kesú Khán 107
Kewak Khán 54, 55
Khafíf 36
Khairó 36
Khairpur... 73
Khairuddín 21, 43
Khalífah (s) 1—7, 19, 28, 34, 74
Khalífah Hisámuddín Mírak 74
Khalífate 2
Khalíl Mírzá 56
Khaljí Khán 15
Khán 106
Khán Jahán ... 22, 24, 25, 83
Khán Khánán. 87, 106, 111—114, 133
Khánazád Khán... .. 130
Khanbhát 19
Khangár 37, 67
Khánwáh... 64
Kharár (s) 83
Kháskhelís 52
Kházán Khán 54
Khiljí (s)... 10, 11, 15, 17, 25
Khinkár 67
Khinrah 36

Page.

Khizir Khán ... 26, 75, 81
Khokhar (s) 9, 25
Khóriah 34
Khudá Bandah 54
Khudáyár Khán (Abbásí). 132, 133
Khurásán ... 1, 3, 7—11, 54, 56, 57, 59—61, 121, 122, 126
Khurásánese 60
Khushab 70, 131
Khusró 13, 120
Khusró Khán ... 17, 18, 35, 111
Khusró Khán Charkas, 114—115, 118, 121—126
Khusró Malik 8
Khusró Sháh 8, 114
Khwájah Báki 92
Khwájah Khatír... ... 18
Khwájah Shamsuddín Khaófí... 79
Kibak Argún ... 53, 60, 64, 94
Kin 32
Kinjhur 44
Kirór 106
Kishwar Khán 18, 19
Kót Máchián 50
Kóráís 77
Kórán 7, 12, 71, 130
Kórejah 32
Kórejás 33
Kóriah 33
Kótlah 24
Kublá Khán 55
Kúfah 3, 4
Kúl 86
Kunjátó Khán 54
Kúrchí 102
Kurrah Khán 121
Kutbuddín ... 9, 10, 17, 18, 27
Kutlugh 15

L

Láhór ... 8—15, 23, 25, 26, 82, 83 110, 122, 131, 132
Láhri 95
Lakallawí 38
Lákhah ... ...32—34

Page.

Lákhah Jám 33
Lákhatiáh 33
Lákhiár 32
Lakhman 31, 32
Lakhnao 10, 12
Laki 38, 64, 66, 91, 100, 110, 111
Lál Shahbáz 13, 14
Langáh (s) ...47, 75—78, 87, 88
Lanjár (s) 33
Lank Nishín 58
Lár 77
Ládkáná (Lárkáná) ... 68
Lilá 37
Lódabs 31
Lódhí 75
Lóhrí ... 68, 69, 75, 83—85, 88, 107, 108, 113, 114, 120, 126
Lalias 31
Luhárí Gate 79
Lutfulláh 126

M

Máchhí 68, 73
Machhí Sólangí 28
Maddí 30
Mádhandás 109
Maghfiruddín 9
Magsí 74
Mahar 32, 73
Máh Begum ... 60, 61, 74, 90—93, 97, 99, 100, 106
Mahdí 4
Mahmúd ...6—13, 17, 28, 36, 66
Mahmúdábád 81
Mahmúd Khán 64
Mahmúd Khán Lángáh ... 77
Mahmúd Sháh 25, 26
Majdúd 8
Makhdúm 14, 112
Makhdúm Abdul Azíz Abharí 52
Makhdúm Bilál 66
Makhdúm Rahmatulláh ... 133
Makhdúm Núh 112
Makrán 29

Page.

Maklí Hill ... 44, 51, 91, 97, 99, 102, 114, 128, 133
Malak Ahmad 102
Malak Aláuddín Márwal ... 25
Malak Alí 27
Malak Alísher 18, 20
Malak Bahrám 20
Malak Feróz 42
Malak Khán 11
Malak Khandú 25
Malak Rajúr 25
Malak Ratan 41, 42
Malak Ruknuddín ... 22
Malak Tájuddín Káfúrí 20, 27, 42
Malak Mubárak Khán ... 22
Maldew 85, 86
Málís 74
Málí Sthán 74
Malúr 25
Mámún 4, 5, 28, 34
Manáhiah ... ...32—34
Mandrah 33
Mangar 34
Mangchá 108
Mangís 29
Máníká 72
Mánikchand 124
Máníktárah 28
Mankú (Mangú) Káán 5, 54, 55
Mansúr 4, 8, 56
Maódúd 8
Maóláná Asíruddín Abharí 52
Maóláná Muhammad ... 52
Mariam 29
Máruí 37
Márús 37
Marw 58
Marwán ... ... 1—4
Marwandí 13
Masnad Alí Fateh Khán Bahádur 109
Masrak 33
Mastong 57, 106
Mas-úd 8
Mas-úd Sháh ... ...10—12
Máthelah ... 48, 73, 106, 107
Máu 73, 76
Máwah 32
Máwará-unnahr 54

Page.

Mecca 14, 71, 85, 89, 91, 92
Mehtar Sanbul 62
Men Takar 28
Mewát 23, 24
Mián Dín Muhammad Siráj 130
Mián Núr Muhammad Kalhórah Abbásí ... 134
Mír Abdulláh Sultán ... 123
Mír Abdurrazák 120, 128
Mír Al dál Bakú 128
Mír Abdul Bakú Amír Khán 131
Mír Abul Khair ... 92
Mír Adl 108
Mír Ahmad Walí ... 91
Mír Alí Arghún 77
Mír Alíkah Arghún ...66, 67, 80, 82, 84
Mír Báyazíd Bukhárí 127, 128
Mír Farrukh ...72, 77, 80, 81
Mír Fázil ... ...68—70
Mír Fázil Kókaltásh...64, 66—70, 73, 105
Mír Ghazanfar Alí ... 132
Mír Ghulám Alí Belgrámí 130
Mír Hamíd Sárbán ... 92
Mír Hasan Basrí (or Misrí) 57, 64, 105
Mír Kásim (Kibakí) ... 64, 73
Mír Khalífah 93
Mír Khán 123
Mír Lutfalí Khan ... 132
Mír Lutfí 90
Mír Maasúm (Sháh) 70, 92, 111
Mír Malak Muhammad ... 90
Mír Muhammad Sárbán. 70, 77, 84
Mír Muhammad Shafía ... 132
Mír Muhammad Yusuf Mahdí Razawí ... 132
Mír Muín 50
Mír Sadah Sámánah ... 22, 23
Mír Sháh Hasan Takdirí... 92
Mír Sháh Mahmúd Arghún 89, 90
Mír Shamsuddín... ... 50
Mír Sultán Alí (Beg) ... 57, 84
Mír Zulfikár Alí... ... 132
Mír Zunnún Arghún ... 105
Míránpur... 132

Page.

Míránsháh Mirzá... ... 56
Mírí 105
Mirzá ...46, 56, 87, 91, 118, 120, 122, 128
Mirzá Abdul Alí Tarkhán 94
Mirzá Abul Fateh . 113—115
Mirzá Askarí 82, 88
Mirzá Bákí 93, 99—105, 115 (See Mirzá Muhammad Bákí.)
Mirzá Ghází Beg... 114—127
Mirzá Hindál 84
Mirzá Ísá (Tarkhan) 67, 77, 80, 87, 90—97, 105, 115, 125—127
Mirzá Ján Bábá ... 98—100
Mirzá Jání (Beg) (Tarkhan) ... ... 103—116
Mirzá Kamrán...79, 82, 88, 89, 93
Mirzá Kásim 98
Mirzá Kásim Beg ... 81
Mirzá Kúchak 98
Mirzá Kurrah Khán ... 121
Mirzá Muhammad (Tarkhán) 94, 101
Mirzá Muhammad Amán Tarkhán 122
Mirzá Muhammad Bákí (Tarkhán) ...95—103, 108, 116
Mirzá Muhammad Mómin. 57
Mirzá Muhammad Mukím Arghún 59, 93
Mirzá Muhammad Sálih ...92—96
Mirzá Muhammad Záhid... 110
Mirzá Muzaffar (Beg) 96, 103, 104
Mirzá Muzaffar (Tarkhán) 101, 103, 115
Mirzá Násir 85
Mirzá Murád 127
Mirzá Mustafá Khán ... 127
Mirzá Páindah (Beg) 101, 113
Mirzá Pír Muhammad 27, 46, 47
Mirzá Rustam ... 126, 127
Mirzá Saadulláh 120
Mirzá Sálih ... 96, 99, 101
Mirzá Sháhbeg (Arghún) 64, 94, 106
Mirzá Sháh Hasan 67, 68, 71—94, 100

Page.

Mirzá Sháh Mas-úd ... 92
Mirzá Yádgár Miskín Tarkháu 100
Mirzá Yádgár Násir ... 84, 85
Miskáls 87
Mória 29
Mótan Khán 64, 66
Muatamid... 4
Muatasim... 4
Muatazid 4, 5
Muáwiyah... 2
Mubárak (Khán)...25, 47, 106, 107
Mubárak Kabír 22
Mubárak Sháh 15
Mughairah 29
Mughul (s) ... 11, 12, 15—17, 50, 53, 63—69, 72, 73, 75, 77, 80—82, 90, 96, 100, 104
Mughul-wárah 53
Muhammad ...1—4, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 20, 29, 30, 46
Muhammad A'bád ... 24
Muhammad Alí Sultán Kábuli 115, 117
Muhammad Amán Tarkhán 113
Muhammad Bábar (Mirzá). 60, 70
Muhammad Bákí... ...95—99
Muhammad Beg 123
Muhammad Hasan ... 132
Muhammad Kásim (Sakifí) 1, 29, 30, 74
Muhammad Khan Shaibáni (Uzbak) ... ...59—61
Muhammad Kulí.. ... 107
Muhammad Miskín Tarkhán 77, 79
Muhammad Mukím. 57—60, 174
Muhammad Mun-im Kháu 133
Muhammad Muzaffar ... 26
Muhammad Sádik Khán 105, 109, 110
Muhammad Sháh. 18—22, 24, 25, 43, 51, 75, 133
Muhammad Tarkhán ... 70
Muhammad Túr 35, 36, 40, 41
Muhammad Yaakúb Khán Kashmírí 132

Page.

Muharram ... 12, 19, 20, 27, 65, 67, 85, 87, 89, 90
Muhib Alí Khán... 93, 106—108
Muhib Tarkhán ... 77
Muhtadí 4
Muizzuddín ... 9, 10, 130, 131
Mujáhid Khán ... 101, 106—108
Mukarrab Khán 25, 26
Mukím Sultán 124
Muktadir... ... ... 4, 5
Muktafí 5
Múlah 115
Mullá Tardí Beg... ... 100
Mullá Yaakúb 115
Multán 7, 9—19, 23—28, 35, 42, 46, 79, 87, 88, 94, 106, 122, 125, 128, 131
Multánís 19
Múmal 37
Muntakhib Tawáríkh ... 36
Muntasir... 4
Murádiah... 34
Murid Balóch 96
Músá 29
Músá Barmakí 5
Músal 3
Muslihuddín 14
Muslim 1
Mustaas'm Billáh ... 5
Musta-'n 4
Mustakfí 5
Muta-izz 4
Mutawakkil 4
Mutíi 5
Muttakí 5
Muzaffar Beg 103
Muzaffar Husain Mirzá 56—58, 66
Muizduddín 9

N

Nagar Kót 22
Nágór 107
Náhah 32
Náhiah 33
Náhid Begum ... 61, 74, 93, 99, 100, 106
Náhir (s) .. 26, 77, 87, 109
Nakúdár 54

Page.

Nának Nai 35
Narganat ... 32
Nasarpúr...35, 47, 71, 81, 100—102, 111, 115, 116, 121, 124
Nasír 20
Násiruddín ...8—13, 17, 25, 26, 28, 60
Násiruddín Mirzá ... 60
Nasratábád 89
Nasrat Khán 15, 16
Nasrat Shah 26
Nawáb ...109, 118, 120, 128, 131, 134
Nawáb Aazam Khán ... 132
Nawáb Abú Nasrat Khán ...129, 130
Nawáb Ahmad Yár Khán. 131
Nawáb Amír Khán ... 128
Nawáb Atr Khán ...131, 132
Nawáb Dilerdil Khán ... 134
Nawáb Himmat Dilerdil Khan 134
Nawáb Hifzulláh Khán ... 130
Nawáb Ismáíl Kuli Khán, 110
Nawáb Kásim Khán ... 128
Nawáb Khánazád Khán... 129
Nawáb Khán Khánán ... 111
Nawáb Khudá Yár Khán. 134
Nawáb Khwájah Muhammad Khalil Khán ...131, 132
Nawáb Lashkar Khán ... 129
Nawáb Mahábat Khán ... 133
Nawáb Mihín Khán ... 131
Nawáb Mír Aminuddín Khán Hussin 131
Nawáb Mughul Khán ... 128
Nawáb Murid Khán ... 130
Nawáb Muzaffar Khán ... 128
Nawáb Muhammad Sádik Khán 109, 110
Nawáb Saádat Khán ... 129
Nawáb Sádik Alí Khán... 134
Nawáb Saifulláh Khán 133, 134
Nawáb Saíd Khán ...118, 120
Nawáb Sardár Khán ... 130
Nawáb Sayyed Izzat Khán 129
Nawáb Shákir Khán ... 131
Nawáb Sharíful Mulk ... 127

Page.

Nawáb Yúsuf Khán Tarí. 131
Nawáb Zabardast Khán... 130
Nawáb Zafar Khán ... 128
Nawákas 32
Nayyt 32
Nazranahs 25
Nerún Kot ... 101, 113, 123
Nijábat Khán 99
Nile 3
Nizámuddín ... 13, 51, 63
Nizámul-mulk ... 11, 21
Noah 31
Nórái 128
Nothár 33
Núrana 44
Núh 31
Núrgáhi 64
Núr Muhammad Kalhórah. 132
Núr Muhammad Palejah. 132
Núruddín ... ...11—13
Núruddín Muhammad Salím 120

O

O'dhár 32
Okrái Káán 55
Oktái Khán 54
O'thah 34
O'thah Sanmah 34
Oudh 32

P

Páindah Beg 108
Palejah 128
Pálli 33, 34
Panjáb 27
Panj-hazárí 126
Panwhárs 29
Parganahs ... 106, 111
Parhár 32
Parindah Beg 58
Párkar 92
Pát ... 74, 84, 88, 109
Patan 81
Pátní 127
Perár 65
Persia ...31, 50, 55, 61, 64, 105, 106, 120, 126
Phul Lakhah 32

Page.

Phul Núhiyah 33
Phul Sammahs 34
Pír Muhammad 27
Pír Wali Barlás 61
Pirhang 58
Punhún 28, 36

R

Rabí-ul-A'khar ... 23, 85, 87
Rabí-ul-Awwal ... 23, 24, 26, 27, 49, 82, 85, 91, 109, 110
Rabí-us-sání ... 79, 95
Radatpur 81
Rafíí Malak 19
Rahmán 72
Rahmán Kuli Beg ... 110
Rájújah 33
Rahúmá 33
Rái 72
Raidan 33, 34
Rái Dísj 32
Rái Sahará 74, 76
Raidinah 47
Ráibah Begum 99
Rái Khangár ... 67, 70, 89, 96
Rái Khóriah 123
Rái Mánikchand 123
Raimah 47, 48
Ráising 124
Rájah (s) 25, 81, 85, 86
Rajah Máldew 85, 86
Rajah Sankdilan 127
Rajjio 20, 21, 78, 83, 84, 86, 114
Rája Parmánand ... 109
Rájá Taonrmal 109
Rájputs 104
Rakík 89, 90
Rám 31, 32
Ramazán ... 7, 21—23, 26, 53, 71, 83
Ramazán I'd 53
Rámdeh 33
Ráná Bhanar Sahtah Ráthór 28
Ráná Mánikchand ... 124
Ráná Mendrah 37
Ráná Sinjár 28
Ráná Wirsal 85
Ránk 114, 128
Ránó Tyárá 32
Rashíd 4, 10
Ráthór 28, 31
Rawáh 1
Razí 5
Rází Muhammad Khán ... 133
Rel 29
Rind (s) 74, 77
Rinmal Sódhó 66, 67
Risálai Kutbiyyah ... 51
Rizwán Begum ... 10
Róbri 29, 68, 73
Rópáh 28
Rukan 34
Rukmuddín. 10, 13, 16, 19, 20, 22
Rustam Beg 123

S

Saádat Khán 25, 26
Saadí 14
Saadullah Khán 130
Sabaktagín 8
Sad 35
Sádh Belo 89
Sádikalí Khán 133
Sádik Muhammad Khán ... 109
Safawí 61
Saffáh ... ... 3—5
Saffar 20, 22, 27, 65, 108, 132
Safí Mirzá 123
Sáhah Sammah 34
Sáhar 33
Sáhar Sammah 33
Sahejahs 34
Sáhib Kiran ... 27, 46, 54, 112
Sáhibi Súbah 126
Sahtah 31, 66
Saíd Khán ... 130—132
Saifuddín 9
Saiful Malúk 9, 38
Saindinah Hindú Khán ... 124
Sákórah 5
Sakhar 69, 108
Sakífí 29
Saláhuddín ... 49, 51, 52, 53, 68
Sálár Khán 40

Page.

Sálih Khán ... 132
Sán 31, 32
Sámánah 23
Samánis 8
Samarkand ... 56, 57, 59
Samejá 33
Samejahs 98, 99, 115
Samiá 31
Sammah (s) 20, 22, 27, 31—36, 39, 41, 42, 47, 54, 64, 65, 67, 69, 134
Sámrah 6, 28, 38
Sámuí 34, 41, 44, 51
Samlaí Khán 78
Saubut Rájá 32
Sánd 32, 33
Sangá 31
Sanghár 35, 36
Sángrah 20
Sanjar 8, 12, 48
Sann 43, 90, 113
Sánwariah 133
Sapar Sammah 40
Sárang Khán ... ... 25—27
Sarmor 22
Sasui 28
Satiah 32
Sátilmer 86
Sayyed (s) 38, 46, 58, 68, 69, 71, 75, 92, 100, 108, 131, 132
Sayyed Abul Fazl ... 108
Sayyed Abulghais ... 46
Sayyed Abul Makáram ... 131
Sayyed Alí Músawí ... 38
Sayyed Alí Shirází ... 101
Sayyed Bahánddin ... 111
Sayyed Ibráhim ... 128
Sayyed Jalál 101
Sayyed Mír Adl 108
Sayyed Mír Kalán ... 92, 95
Scythia 55
Sehwán ... 7, 14, 16, 18, 21, 29, 41, 42, 43, 47, 52, 64, 66—70, 72, 82, 84, 85, 86, 91, 92, 95—97, 101, 103, 109, 111, 112, 114, 120, 122, 125, 128, 130, 134

Page.

Sekhót Sammah 34
Sewrái 73, 76
Shaat Alí Khán 132
Sháh 32
Sháh Abbás 61, 123
Sháh Abdulghafúr ... 133
Shah Alam Bahádur Sháh 133
Shábul Náhir 26
Shahábuddín (Ghórí) ... 9, 75
Sháhbandar 95
Shahbáz 14, 20
Shahbází 115
Shahbáz Khán ... 115, 124
Shábbeg ... ...50, 61, 62—65
Shábbeg Arghún 53—63, 65—84
Sháh Beg Khán ... 111, 113, 121, 123
Sháh Beló 88
Shábburdí Beg 106
Sháh Husan 71, 72, 76—93, 97
Sháh Hasan Takdirí ... 80, 92
Sháhgarh ... 111, 113
Sháh Ináyat Súfí 132, 133
Sháh Ismáil Safawí ... 61, 62, 123, 126
Sháh Jaháu ...127, 128, 130
Sháh Juned 61
Sháh Kásim (Arghún) 99, 114, 115, 124
Sháh Mahmúd Mirzá ... 56
Sháhnámah 6
Sháhrukh ... 101, 102
Sháhrukh Mirzá 56
Sháh Safí 123
Sháh Tahmásb (or Tahmasp)... 61, 87, 106, 123
Shaibán 29
Shaibániah 55
Shakarganj 13, 14
Shál... 57, 61, 63, 66, 67, 106
Shám 2
Shams Gate 78
Shams Kashmírí... ... 101
Shamsuddín ... ...10—14
Shanbah 89, 90
Sharif Khán ... 127, 128
Shariful Mulk 127
Shawwál ...12, 16, 27, 111

Page.

Shekh (s) ...5, 13, 14, 16, 21, 29, 58, 76
Shekhá Khókhar ... 25
Shekh Abdul Ghafúr ... 100
Shekh Alí Taghái ... 57
Shekh Azízulláh 134
Shekh Baháud-dín Zakariyyá (Multání) .. 13, 14, 21, 75
Shekh Ghulám Muhammad 134
Shekh Hamád Jamáli ... 44, 51
Shekh Ibráhím 72
Shekh Kutbuddín Bakhtyár Káki 27
Shekh Mírak 101
Shekh Rukнuddín ... 16, 19
Shekh Sa'ruddín ... 13, 14, 21
Shekh Safí Masnawí ... 61
Shekh Sihar Lanjár ... 33
Shekh Turáb 29
Shekh-ul-Islám 21
Shekh Yusuf Kuraishí ... 75, 76
Sher Alí Kúkah 101
Sher Beg 104
Sheróyah Sultan 110
Shershah (Súrí Afghán) .. 83, 85
Shah (s) 61, 133
Shíráz 14, 50
Shírzád 8
Shórah 119
Shuabán 11, 23, 25, 71
Siddíkís 29
Sikandar 45, 46, 47
Sikandar Lódhí 175
Sind ... 1—7, 9—18, 25, 27—30, 34—44, 48, 50, 61, 63—66, 68—70, 72, 74, 83, 86, 97, 105, 107, 110, 120, 126, 127, 130
Sindichah 50
Sipáh Shikóh 129
Sipiah 30
Sístán 16, 58 59, 63
Siwí ... 28, 50, 61, 63, 64, 67, 74, 90
Siwistán 30
Sóarejún 55
Sódhá (s) ... 66, 81, 66, 115
Sódhá Khangárs 67

Page.

Sodiarí Sammah 34
Solomon 31
Sórah 31
Sórath 32
Spain 5
Súbah ... 120, 122, 126, 127
Súbahdárs 126
Sulhán Kulí (Arghún) ... 109
Súfís 29
Súfí Fakírs 132
Sukkur 69
Sulaimán 1, 3
Sulaimán Sháh 123
Sultán ... 6, 7, 13, 14, 28, 34, 36, 40, 41, 58
Sultán Abúsaíd Mirzá ... 56, 57
Sultán Aláuddín ... 42
Sultán Alí Arghún ... 59
Sultán Ferózsháh ... 43
Sultán Haidar 61
Sultán Husain ... 6, 123 (Mirza), 56—59, 126
Sultán Husain Langáh ... 77, 78
Sultán Kutbuddín ... 76
Sultán Mahmúd 55, 74
Sultán Mahmúd Bahádur.. 80
Sultán Mahmád Khán Kókaltásh ... 66, 76, 77
Sultán Mahmúd Lángáh... 79
Sultán Muhammad ... 123
Sultán Muhammad Khan (Bakhari) .. 64, 68—70, 80—87, 90—92, 95—100, 105—108, 182
Sultán Muhammad Mirzá. 56
Sultán Muhammad Sháh Taghlak 43
Sultán Mukím Beg Lár... 66
Sultan Kulí Beg... ... 67
Sultán Muizzuddín ... 75
Sultán Muzaffar ... 51, 52, 67
Sultán O'th 34
Sultán Sanjar 70
Sultánusharaf 25
Sultán Yádgár Mirzá .. 56, 57
Súmrah (s) ... 6, 18, 20, 28, 33—41
Syria 2, 3, 56

Page.

T

Tághí 19, 20
Taghlak ... 17, 47, 75
Taghlakábád... 34, 72, 113, 130
Taghlak Sháh ... 13, 18, 22, 35
Tál 29, 36
Taimúr ... 15, 27, 54, 55, 93
Taimúr Káán 55
Tájiah 34
Tájuddín Malak 18
Tájuddín Yeldóz... ... 10
Takdari 57, 59
Tálpurs 134
Taltí 42, 64, 66, 67
Tamáchí 41, 45, 49
Tamerlane... 55 (see Taimúr)
Tamím ... ... 1, 6, 2[illegible], 35
Tamímí (s) 29, 37
Tamóchín 11
Taróghái 55
Tárí 35
Táríkh Maasúmí... ...92, 111
Tarkhán (s) ...59, 60, 67, 81, 89—94, 113, 116, 118, 123, 125, 127, 134
Tarkhún 94
Tarsú Muhammad Khán. 100
Tarsú Muhammad Tarkhán 108
Tartar (s)... ... ... 27, 42
Tátár Khán 42
Tatat 32
Tattá ... 7, 16—21, 29, 43, 47—50, 52, 53, 63—72, 74, 80—97, 100, 101, 104—109, 111—120, 122—134
Táyei 5
Thahím (s) ... 6, 29, 35
Thar 37
Thari 19
Tharrah 5
Tharrí 35
Tóelá Khán 54
Tomnah Khán 55
Tóng 28
Transoxania ... 54, 56, 62

Page.

Túdarast 31
Túlí Khán 54, 55
Túrán 55, 56
Turcomania 55
Turkistán ... 9, 11, 54
Turks 69
Tús 6

U

Ubáorah 48, 73, 101
Uch ...7—12, 15—17, 27, 42, 46, 75—78, 82—85, 106
Udhah 32, 33
Udhejás 33
Ulugh Beg Mirzá ... 56, 59
Ulugh Khán 16, 42
Ulugh Yurat 55
Uk 59
Umar ... 1—3, 31, 36, 37
Umarkót... ...36 86, 96, 115
Umar Mirzá 56
Umar Shekh Mirzá ... 56
Ummeide (s) ... 1—5, 28, 29
Ummiah 2
Unar ... 32, 34, 36, 41, 49
Unarpur 112
Usmán 2, 13, 14, 29
Usmánís 29
Utbah 32, 33
Uzbak (s) ... 55, 60, 126
Uzbakiah 55
Uzbak Khán 55

W

Wábil 3
Wáditar-Páthárí ... 32
Wakhiah 28
Walíd 2, 3
Wangó 96
Wárhá 32
Wásik 4
Wazír ... 7, 11, 28, 37, 72
Wírah 33

Page.

Y

Yaakúb 29
Yaakúb Alí Kúkah ... 115
Yádgár Miskín 100
Yádgár Muhammad Mírzá 56
Yazíd 2, 3
Yúsif Alí Beg 87

Page.

Z

Zabdarí 32
Zafar 62
Zafar Khán 21, 22
Zahhák 3
Zaíd 1
Zakariyyá ... 13, 14, 21
Zí-hajj 133
Zí-kaad 25, 63
Zul-hajj 22
Zunnún ... ... 57—60, 64

INDEX OF PART II.

Page.

A

Aazzuddín A'lamgír ... 152
A'bad 160, 223
Abbás 135
Abbásí (s)... 135, 175, 176, 300
Abdunnabí (Khán) 170, 174—176, 186, 187—194, 203—206
Abdurrahím Khán 136
Abjad 168, 185
Abrah 137, 138
Abyssinian ... 200, 218, 235
A'dam-khán ... 136, 137
Afghán (s)... 140, 141, 146, 148, 152, 158—160, 166, 173, 176—178, 184—187, 194, 204, 205, 215, 216, 222, 223
A'ghá (s)... 199
A'ghá Ibráhim Sháh 215, 293, 308, (see Sayyed Ibrahim Shah)
A'ghá Ismáil Sháh 222, 239, 280, 293, 308 (see Sayyed Ismail Shah
A'ghá Khán 200
A'ghá Shah Muhammad... 187
Agham 149
Aghímání 227
Ahmad Khán Lighárí 227, 231
Ahmad Khán (Núrzái) 203, 204
Ahmad Shah (Dúrání) 151, 152, 158, 164, 173, 206, 215
Ahmadyár Khán .. 155—159
Aká Muhammad Khán Isfahání 149
Aká Muhammad Sálih .. 153
Akbar 136
Akhtiar Khán ... 199, 200
A'khund Bachal ... 227, 230
Alahábád... ... 155, 157, 238
Alah Bakhsh ... 167, 168
Alah Bakhsh Jhinjan 169, 171—175, 194
Alahdád (Líkhí) ... 186, 188, 198

Page.

Alahyár Khán ... 140, 141, 165
A'lamgír 138, 152
Alí Bakhsh 215
Alías (Khán) Bróhí ... 142
Amirs 217
Amír 140
Amír Dóst Muhammad Khán 226
Amír Shekh Jahán ... 140
Aurangzeb ... 138, 140, 152
A'rí Dádní 136
Armenian 283
Arzí 167
Ashrafis 230
A'shúrah 155
A'sú Súmrah 149
Atáí Khán 158
Atur Khán... 150, 151, 155—162, 174
Ayyúb Khán 205
Ayyub Sháh ... 215, 216
Azam 165
Azímábád 238
Azím Khán 215

B

Bábá Farid 146
Bábarí (Afgháns) 175, 186
Badan 150
Bágah (or Bághah) Fakír 182, 183, 189, 194, 195, 198, 203
Bahádur 158
Bahádur Khán 160
Bahádur Shah Shahi A'lam 140, 141
Bahár Khán Amráni ... 146
Bahár Sháh ... 141, 150, 155
Bahawal Khán ... 210, 211
Bahawalpur 146, 156, 157, 176, 184, 210
Bahrám 193
Bairam Khán 136
Bajesing 181, 182, 195
Bajham 164
Bákar 194

Page.

Bakhar ...138—147, 163, 246
Bakhtár 141
Bakhtáwar Khán ...142, 143
Balkh 205
Balóch (es) ...137, 146, 163, 170—180, 182, 184, 192—197, 200—208, 211, 216—221, 223, 224, 229—236
Bandir 163
Barlás 135
Basásar 160
Bazár (s) 213, 215, 221
Bázói 146
Begharbegí 149
Bengal 152, 234, 237
Bhág Náris ... 146, 210
Bhíl 135
Bhiráló 136
Bhuj 161, 211, 218
Bibí Khatrí 205
Bigah 163
Bijár Jókhiah 151
Bijrání Mirs 207
Bilawal Fakír Náij ... 150
Bilawal (Lákhí) ... 184, 194, 195
Blue Book 241
Brandesbury Regiment ... 234
British Government ..214, 216, 217, 223—225, 228, 249
Bóstán Khán ... 201, 203, 204
Budah 184
Búah Khán Nacmardiah Jakhrah 150
Búlá Khán 150
Busta (Bandar) ...161, 163

C

Calcutta ...217, 234, 237, 238
Captain Brown ... 234, 236, 237
Captain Eastwick ... 226
Captain Ennis 226, 238
Captain Gordon 237
Captain Harding ... 231
Captain Leckie 226
Captain Mylne ... 227, 228
Captain Pelly 234
Captain Stanley 228
Captain Wade 217
Captain Whitelock ...224—226
Chachikáu ... 144, 149, 158
Chákar Hálah 149
Chálak 183
Chanah 131
Chándiah 136
Chándkó 136
Chándúkah ... 136, 138
Chatrbár 137
Chhupri 225
Chinah 135
Chinab Belí 136
Chólah 135
Colonel Ledge 225
Colonel Macpherson ... 234
Colonel Outram ... 227—234
Colonel Pattle ... 233—235
Colonel Pottinger ...223, 224, 243, 249
Colonel Wright 235
Czar 213

D

Dahah 136
Dabbah 235, 233, 258
Dablí 146
Daolat Khán Pirí ... 144
Darbesah 143
Dasahrah 217
Dáúd 136, 137
Dáúdjí 165
Dáúd Khán 145
Dáudpótah (s) 136, 144—149, 158, 160, 161, 176, 184, 191, 199—204, 210, 211
Dehlí ... 138, 140, 147, 151, 152, 159, 238
Derah (s) 143, 162—164, 169, 176, 192, 198—202, 216, 217, 236
Derah Ghází Khán ...143, 162, 176, 203
Derah Ismáil Khán 143, 162, 176
Derah Kulí 140
Dethah 135
Dhádar 146
Dhand Chhattí 163

Page.

Dharablál Sammah ... 135
Dhárájah 148, 150
Dherí 137
Dhingánah (Jatói) 183, 194, 195
Dingarh 189, 190, 193
Din Muhammad ... 140, 142
Dípál Kángrah 135
Dittah 236
Díwán ... 152, 163, 199, 218
Díwán Gidúmal ... 151—
154, 166, 199, 206, 291, 306
Díwán Jaspatrái 206
Dooránee 187
Dr. James Burnes ... 217
Dúráni (Afgháns) ... 176
Durbár 226

E

East India Company, 170,
238, 242, 243
Egypt 227
England 228
English, 217, 223, 229—239, 261
European 214, 225

F

Fakir (s) ... 138, 140, 150, 164, 181
Fakírah Khizmatgár 211, 215
Fakíre-jó-Pir 211
Faojah Fakir 138
Farid Bhágat 139
Faríd Khán Lakhwírah ... 146
Farrukh Siyar 145
Fateh Alí 165, 188
Fateh Alí Sháh (Kájár)
201, 212, 215, 220
Fatehgarh 205
Fateh Khán ... 188, 209
Fatehnámah ... 152,
155, 164, 167, 168, 195, 202
Fateh Muhammad ... 220
Fatehpur 140, 142
Fázil Beg 150
Fazl Alí Khán ... 191, 199, 200
Feróz Khán (Tálpur) ... 218
Feróz Wírah ... 139, 140
Frere, Mr. 239
Frerenámah ... 167,
169, 171, 174, 195, 200
202, 220, 239
Fuleli ... 190 (see Phuleli)

G

Gacherah 142
Gáhí Jamshed 142
Gáj 141
Gandáwáh 148
Ganjábah 146
Ganjah 146
Gárhí 139
General Keane ... 223, 226
General Napier ... 231,
233, 235, 239
Georgia 218
Gerelah 140
Ghází Khán ... 143, 165
Ghází Khán Dódái ... 143
Ghazní 135
Ghórí 135
Ghulám Alí (Nizámání) 199, 220
Ghulám Alí Khán Tálpur. 218
Ghulám Haidar Mirnáni ... 200
Ghulám Hasan (Jhinjan). 194
Ghulám Husain 198
Ghulám Muhammad Lighárí ... 230, 232
Ghulám Muhammad Sukhání 143
Ghulám Shih ... 148, 151, 159
Gidú Bandar ... 223, 239
Gidú-jo-Tandó 152
Gídwaní 152
Gólah Sháh 222
Guhrám Lashárí ... 146
Gujar 135
Gujrát 164, 165
Gul Muhammad (Khan)
Khurásání ... 151, 153, 163
Gurgín Khán 213

H

Habíbání 138
Habíb (Fakír Náij) ... 163
Háfiz Sher Muhammad
Khán 209

Page.

Haidarábád ... 162—164, 168, 169, 174, 186, 197—200, 205—238
Haidarábádí (Mirs) 165, 168
Háji 171
Háji Ahmad (Kizmatgár) 199, 200
Háji Mír Khán 211
Háji Muhammad Makaí ... 163
Hálah 175, 232
Háleh Kandí ... 175
Hálání 194
Hábr Mountain ... 195
Hánas Sammah 146
Haramis ... 214, 218, 236, 238
Hardarjí 160
Hasan 179
Hatrí ... 136, 137, 142, 198
Hazáribágh ... 237, 238
Hercules 213
Hind 148
Hindí 179
Hindú (s) ... 150, 161, 178, 179, 182, 190, 195, 199
Hindustání ... 151, 152
Hingórjah 158
Hósh Muhammad Habíshí 218, 235
Hótak Khán ... 165, 168
Hór Khán Dáúdpótah ... 143
Howdah 206
Huud 149
Hurs 213
Husain 179
Hyderabad 152

I

Ibráhím ... 136, 137
Id 157, 159
Ikhlás Khán 201
Imámí (s) ... 213, 220
Imámgarh 252
Imám Husain 232
Imámuddín Jóyah ... 146
Ináyet Sháh 138
India 223
Indus ... 214, 223, 226, 234, 237, 246
Inverarity, Mr. 239

Page.

Isar 179
Is-hák Khán 194
Islámgarh 205
Islám Khán 143
Islám Kót 205
Ismáil Khán Bróhí ... 147
Ismáil Khán Pirí ... 153
Ispahán 213
Izzatyár Khán ... 175—177

J

Jacob's Horse 234
Jódah 141
Jágír ... 144, 145 165, 218
Jaláir 140
Jalálábád ... 203, 215
Jalál Khán 137
Jám ... 135, 148, 154, 160
Jám Chínah 136
Jám Desar 160
Jám Hóthí 150
Jam Mábar 150
Jám Siddík 137
Jamádár Alahrakhiah ... 224
Jamádilawal ... 164, 237
Jamádi sání 212, 219, 220, 226, 227, 238
Jamálís 182
Jandehar 147
Járah 161
Járjah 165, 281
Jatói (s) 145, 169, 172, 180, 183
Jesalmer 152, 203, 220
Jhana 161
Jhinjan (s) ... 172, 180, 183
Jhók 144
Jhól 144
Jódhpur 178—182, 195, 198, 200
Jókhiah 159
Jóyah 159
Júnejah (s) ... 170, 174
Júnpur 136

K

Kabrá Barhah 136
Kábul ... 205, 206, 209, 215, 220, 223, 225, 226
Kachah 15

Page.

Kacherah... 142
Kachh ... 160, 161, 163—165, 203, 211, 214, 215, 218, 220, 223, 226
Kachhí (s) ... 146, 161, 211
Káchhah 138, 147, 197
Kadúrah 142
Káhah 142, 149
Káhrah Bálah 135
Káim Khán Náhar ... 143
Kaisar Fakír Nizámání 197, 199
Kaisar Khán 146
Kaisar Panwhár 142
Kajan 136
Kákar Bróhí 147
Kakar Taluka 139
Kakó Khán 165
Kakrálah 148, 150, 154, 160, 159
Kálá Khán 146
Kalandar Lal Shahbáz .. 288
Kalát 142, 144, 146, 147, 157, 170, 171, 176, 180, 184, 196, 197, 203, 206, 210, 226
Kalátís 183
Kalhórah (s) ... 135, 136, 139, 140, 165, 170, 174, 181, 200, 206, 281, 309
Kamruddín 175
Kanáts 215
Kanbar Khán Bróhí ... 140
Kand 149
Kandhár 148, 204, 209
Kandiárah 142
Kandiára Talukú... 169, 196
Kanganí 146
Kaniárá Kót 165
Kánjí 150
Kankór 180
Karáchí ... 149, 171, 206, 223, 224, 227, 228, 246
Kárdár 208
Karnál 216
Kartah 147
Kashmír 216
Kashmór... 210
Kásim 141
Kází 153
Kází Muhammad Mahfúz 153

Page.

Kázim Sháh 222
Kech Makrán 135
Khábah 169
Khairpur... 136, 171, 216, 220—222, 225—229, 232
Khairpurí... ... 165, 207
Khamal 141
Khambháth ... 135, 180
Khán ... 136, 145—147, 171, 183, 202, 204, 206, 210
Khán Muhammad Khán (Tálpur) 218
Khánpur 143, 145, 161
Kharelah... 140
Kharí ... ... 138—142
Khát 148, 181
Khárhrí 231
Kherí 137
Khiar 147
Khír 149
Khór 141
Khósah (s) ... 159, 160, 169, 172, 173, 176, 177, 183, 194, 281
Khudábád ... 142, 144, 155, 156, 159, 165—169, 174, 175, 182, 184—188, 192, 197—199, 205, 207, 219
Khudádád Khán... ... 147
Khudáyár Khán ... 143, 145, 164, 170, 176
Khuháwar 194
Khurásán ... 164, 175, 213, 225
Khwájah Husáin Khán ... 143
Kingrí 213
Kódiárah... 154
Kóhírah 129
Kóhistán 146
Kórah (rupees) 211
Koran ... 154, 167, 173, 180, 185, 190, 191, 192, 201, 2 3, 204
Kótái Sayyeds 139
Kótrí 225
Kótwál 137, 215, 225
Kótwálí 234
Kubá Shahdád 165
Kúfis 232

Page.

Kújah 158
Kúrs 206

L

Lahdaryá Táluka ... 140
Ladkánah ... 137, 142, 147—149, 159, 183, 209
Lahná Máchhí 146
Lábór 141
Lákhát 139
Lakhpat 161, 163
Lakmillí 160
Lál I'san... 136
Lál Shahbáz Kalándar ... 288
Lár 218
Lárkana 136, 137
Lashár 136
Langárí 154
Lányárí 173
Lieut. Brown ... 230, 234
Lieut.-Col. Outram ... 282
Lieut.-Col. Pottinger ... 242
Lieut.-Col. Spiller ... 249
Lieut. Johnson 234
Lieut. Mollison 234
Ligháris 182
Líkhís 172, 175
Lóhri ... 136, 156, 157, 177, 178, 189, 190, 201, 203
Lord Auckland 223
Lord Dalhousie 238
Lord Ellenborough ... 234
Lord Elphinstone ... 217
Ludhiana... ... 216, 217, 222
Lukmán Tálpur 230
Lurs 213

M

Madad Khán ...184—187, 191
Mahárájah ... 179, 217
Mahfúz Khán ... 176—178, 184, 200, 202
Mahmudání Mírs ... 207
Mahmúd Khán ... 169, 170, 174, 204, 209, 210
Mahmúd Sháh 215
Máhyán Erí 146

Page.

Máí Khairí 205
Máí Zainab 210
Major Outram ... 226, 253
Major Pottinger ... 218, 220, 224, 225
Major Skeene ... 214, 215
Major Wright 235
Makan Mórah 139
Makhdúm Núh ... 176—178, 184, 200, 202
Maklí Hill 150
Maksúdah 141
Maksúdah (Fakír) 155—158, 160, 162
Malabár Hill 237
Malak Alah Bakhsh 142, 143
Manahrah 224
Manání Aresar 14
Manchhar 142
Mánikání Mírs ... 165, 207
Mánik Khán ... 165, 168
Manora... 224
Márakpur ... 140, 142
Marandhah 138
Markhpur 140
Másás 224
Mash-hadí 231
Masnad 202
Masti Khán Jóyah ... 149
Masú Fakír 150
Máthelah... 141
Matiárí 232
Mazárís 217
Mecca 167, 170, 171, 215, 220
Mehráb (Jatóí) 162, 173, 174, 183, 184, 195
Mián 136, 138, 140—155, 160—166, 168, 170—177, 180, 192, 196, 201, 203
Mián Abdunnabí (Khán) 174—184, 191—198, 200, 201
Mián A'dam Sháh ... 136
Mián Dín Muhammad 140, 141
Mián Ghulám Nabí... 169—174
Mián Ghulám Sháh 155—167, 205
Mián Iliás 137
(Mián) Muhammad Atur Khán ... ...156—159, 1

Page.

Miáń Muhammad Murád (Yáb Khán) ... 153—165
Miáń (Muhammad) Sarfráz (Khán) 156, 158, 164, 166—169, 174, 175
Miáń Nasír Muhammad 138—140
Miáń Núr Muhammad ... 145—153, 161, 170
Miáń Odhánah 135
Miáń Sádik Alí Khán 181—183
Miáń Sáhal Muhammad 137, 138
Miáń Yár Muhammad ... 140—144, 165
Miánah 227, 231
Miání ... ...231—253, 255
Mír (s) ...144, 165—180, 185, 186, 190 191, 195, 198—253, 254—301
Mír Abbás Alí Khán 221, 227, 236, 238
(Mír) Abdulláh (Khán) ... 157, 171, 179, 181—193, 201
Mír Abdul Wasía Khán... 145
Mír Alahbakhsh 237
Mír Alahyár 168, 171, 192—195
Mír Alí Murád (Khán) ... 221, 228, 229, 253
Mír Anámuddín Khán ... 143
Mír Bálrám (Khán) (Tálpur) ...152, 155, 158, 165—168, 191, 267
Mír Bijár (Khán) 166—180, 195
Mír Chákar (Khán) (Laloch) 136, 165, 171
Mír Fateh Alí Khán (Tálpur) ... 165, 168, 171, 182—187, 189—208, 212, 218, 236, 238
Mír Fateh Khán ...168—171, 179—194, 201
Mír Ghulám Alí Khán ... 168, 171, 183, 185, 187, 189, 192—195, 199, 203, 206—212, 218, 241
Mír Ghulám Haidar Khán 221
Mír Ghulám Husain Khan 207
Mír Ghulám Muhammad 196

Page.

Mír Ghulám Sháh Sháhwání 230, 232
Mír Hasan Alí Khán 221, 236, 238
Mír Husain Alí Khán 221 227, 230, 232—234, 237, 238
Mír Jón Muhammad (Khán Tálpur) ... 231, 232
Mír Karam Alí Khán 168 205, 212, 214, 216, 218, 219, 241, 277
Mír Khán Muhammad Khán (Mánikání) ..221, 230
Mír Mahmúd Khán ...207, 208
Mír Masú Khán 168
Mír Mír Muhammad (Khán) .. 211, 212, 218, 219, 226, 230, 234, 237
Mír Mubárak Khán ... 221
Mír Muhammad 141, 142, 144, 174
Mír Muhammad Alí Khán 236
Mír Muhammad Hasan Khán 221, 229
Mír Muhammad Khán ... 220, 226, 234, 237, 238
Mír (Muhammad) Nasír Khán 220, 221, 226—238, 243, 262, 278
Mír Murád Alí Khán ... 168, 205, 209, 212, 214—221, 227, 237, 241, 242
Mír Nasír Khán... 221, 237
Mír Núr Muhammad Khán ...220, 221—228, 237, 243, 249, 278
Mír Panwhár ... 138, 140
Mír Rustam Khán 221, 228, 229, 232, 237, 252
Mír Sháh Alí Khán ... 171
Mír Shahdád Khán 221, 227, 229—233, 236—238
Mír Shahdád Khán Balóch Tálpur... ... 143, 165, 168
Mír Sháh Muhammad Khán ... 221, 235, 237, 238
Mír Sher Muhammad Khán 221, 224, 235

Page.

Mír Sóbdár (Khán) 108, 167, 168, 171, 208, 218, 219, 226—230, 233—238, 278
Mír Suhráb (Khán) 171, 180, 182—187, 192—196, 203—209, 216, 221, 228
Mír Thárah (Khán) 191, 192—195, 207, 208, 209, 221
Mír Yákúb Khán ... 139
Mír Yár Muhammad Khán 167, 220, 237, 238
Míran 154
Míráh Muhammad ... 136
Mirán Sháh 140
Míró Buldí 146
Mírpur (Khás) 165, 171, 207—209, 220, 221, 224, 225
Mírpurís 168
Mírú Kódrí Rind ... 146
Mírzá Fredún Beg 214, 296, 297, 309
Mírzá Ghulám Alí ... 199
Mírzá Khán Pini 138, 140
Mírzá Kurbán Alí Beg ... 309
Mírzá Khusró Beg 214, 229, 261, 271, 276, 280, 293, 294, 296, 297, 309
Mírzá Muhammad Bákar 214, 295, 309
Mírzó Fakír 182—185, 191—193
Mithan Kót ... 216, 217
Mohars 220
Mórá Táluka 142
Morú 161
Móti 135
Mubárak Khán ... 143, 147
Mughul (s) ... 138, 139, 141
Muhammad ... 135, 136, 236
Muhammadábád ... 151—155, 157
Muhammad Atur Khán ... 153, 158, 159, 160, 162
Muhammad Azim Khán 215, 216
Muhammad Bahawal (Khán) 184, 191, 200, 203, 204
Muhammad Beg Shámlú. 153
Muhammad Dáúd Khán... 144
Muhammad Hasan (Khuháwar)... 173, 174, 189, 194

Page.

Muhammad Husain ... 163
Muhammad Káim 160, 163
Muhammad Khán 142, 144, 213
Muhammad Khán Lighárí 230
Muhammad Khán Tálpur. 230
Muhammad Khudádád Khán 150
Muhammad Muizzuddín... 141, 143, 165
Muhammad Murádyáb Khán)... 147, 148, 151—157 (*see* Mían Muhammad Murádyáb)
Muhammad Nasir (Khán) 157, 171, 181, 183, 186, 196—198, 203—206, 210
Muhammad Sádik Khán. . 210
Muhammad Sháh 145, 148, 151, 215
Muhammad Siddik Wais... 160
Muharram ... 149, 152, 155, 160, 163, 207, 208, 229, 230, 232, 237, 238
Muizzuddín ... 145, 165
Mukhtiárkár 230
Múlah Talahtí 159
Mullá Jiand Abrah ... 145
Mullá Rahmatulláh ... 205
Múráj 39
Multán ...135—137, 141, 143, 146, 162, 176, 204, 216, 217, 239, 287
Munshí 233
Munshí Ambratrái ... 186
Munshí A'watrái ... 233
Munshí Partábrái ...218, 233
Murádábád 154
Murád Alí Khán ... 147
Murád Fakír Nizámání ... 163
Murád Kalerí 146
Murádyáb Khán 151 (*see* Muhammad Murádyáb).
Muríds 213
Musá Armaní 233
Muscat (or Mascat) 151, 154, 167, 220
Muta-Allawí 23
Muzaffar Alí (Khán Bayát) 1

Page.

N

Nádir Sháh ...147—149, 151
Náhárs 146
Náib 223
Náin 146
Naoábád 230, 234
Naoshahrah ...139, 152, 156, 158, 159, 195
Nasarpur...148, 154, 158, 159, 197, 198
Nasír Muhammad ... 137
Nasrat 162
Náthahjí 163
Nathan Crowe 207
Naushahró Fe.óz . 139, 195
Nawáb 231
Nawáb Ahmad Khán Lighárí 231
Nawáb Khán Khánán ... 136
Nawáb Khudáyar Khán .. 145
Nawáb Muhammad Khán Thóró 307
Nawáb Sádik Alí Kháu... 147
Nawáb Sarbuland Khán .. 153
Nawáb Sháh Kuli Kháu.. 140
Nawáb Shákir Kháu ... 144
Nawah Wali Muhammad (Khán) (Lighárí) ...214 220, 279, 307
Názim 222
Nazrábah 223
Nenak 142
Nerúnkót 162
Nihálsing ... 216, 217
Nimrod 237
Nindah 194, 208
Nizámáni (s) ... 182, 183, 185
Nuhmardí (s) ... 180, 181, 185—187, 194, 196, 199
Númria (s) ... 180, 183
Núr Muhammad ... 144

O

O'chtah 154
Orangá 158
O'thwál 141
Outram 249, 282. (*See* Major and Lieut.-Col. Outram)

Page.

P

Pahlí 146
Páindi Kháu ... 205, 206
Palestine... 213
Panjáb (or Punjáb) 216, 235, 238
Panwhárs ... 138, 140, 162
Parganah (s) 144, 145, 146, 218
Párkar (Nagar) 165
Parkaran... 165
Pársí 236
Patan 146
Pat Bárán ... 144, 165
Pátuá 238
Paul 213
Peróz Kaleri 194
Peróz Pitáfi ... 169, 171, 173
Peróz Tálpur 194
Persia ...148, 151, 209, 213 215, 220
Pesháwar... 216
Phuleli ...215, 232, 236, (*see* Fuleli).
Pini (s) 141, 144
Pir 213
Pitáfi 169, 173
Poona 227, 237, 276
Portuguese 215
Pottinger 249 (*see* Major Pottinger).
Pringle, Mr. 239
Púnah 227, 237

R

Rabí-ul-awwal ... 236—238
Rabí-ussáni ...156, 158, 161, 162, 164, 227, 237, 238
Rafíuddaolah Sháh Jahán.. 145
Rafíuddaraját 145
Rahím Khán Ránk ... 144
Rái Bhárah 211
Rájah (s ... 178—182, 195—198, 205, 217, 220
Rájah Fakír 142
Rájah Kájsing Bhattí ... 141
Rájah Líkhí...156, 166—171 194
(Rájah) Ranjitsing 216, 217, 220

Page.

Rajjib ... 161, 165, 238
Rajput (s) 178, 182, 183, 195—198, 281
Ramazán 157, 159, 228
Ramazán Íd 157
Ráná (s) 135, 150, 151
Ráná Ajmal 148
Ráná Chanah 135
Ránah 136
Ráo ... 161, 163, 164, 211, 220
Ráthór (s) ... 178, 182
Razábeg 150
Reu 218
Róh 138
Róh Káchhah 136
Róhrí ... 136, 139, 157, 177, 213
Rójhán 217
Rójah 144
Ross Bell, Mr. 225
Russia 213

S

Sábit Ali (Sháh) ... 214, 202
Sabzalgarh ... 210, 211
Sabzal Kót ... 210, 228
Sádik Ali Fakír 181
Saffar ... 152, 156, 160, 165, 235
Sahab 136
Sáhti 139
Sájan Ramah 150
Sakhar 137, 152, 228
Sakrand Táluka ... 165, 181
Sálih Khán 153
Sálih Khán Bayát ... 149
Sammahs 299
Samsámuddaolah ... 162
Sámtání 142
Sámtiahs 195
Sanad ... 161, 164, 201, 202, 206
Sángí 137
Sángrah 136
Sanjar Khán 143
Sánóh 142
Sardár ... ... 162, 184—190
Sardár Ghulám Haidar Khán 226
Sardár Jahán Khán 151, 162, 163
Sardár Khán ... 191, 194
Sardár Madad Khán Afghan ... 184—189, 191
Sardár Nawáb Jang ... 189
Sasúr 237
Sáwan-wal 217
Sayyed (s) ... 146, 161, 210, 216, 217, 224
Sayyed Abdul Karím ... 289, 305
Sayyed (Agha) Ibrahim Sháh ... 199, 203, 216, 244, (*see* Agha Ibrahim Shah).
Sayyed (Agha) Ismáil Sháh ... 216, 217, 222, 224, 225, 245
Sayyed Jiandal Sháh ... 225
Sayyed Kázim Sháh ... 222
Sayyed Muhammad Rá-shid Sháh 213
Sayyed Sháh Muhammad. 153
Sayyed Zainulabdín Sháh 222
Sayyed Zulfikár Sháh ... 210
Sehwan ... 141, 147, 157, 213, 229, 231, 235
Sháh Abdullatíf Bhitái ... 161, 290, 305
Sháh Alí 137
Shahal Muhammad ... 137
Sháham 136
Sháhbandar 158
Shah-bdpur 169, 173, 179, 192
Shahgart ... 158, 160, 173, 204
Sháh Karím ... 289, 305
Sháh Kuli Khán ... 148, 149
Sháh Muhammad 135, 137, 143
Sháh Murád Khán ... 205
Sháh Nawáz Khán ... 151
Sháhpur ... 160—162, 165, 181, 199, 200
Sháh Shujá 215, 216, (*see* Shuja-ul-Mulk)
Sháh Walí Khán ... 164
Sháh Werdí Khán (Karát) 149, 161
Shálmín 200
Shamáwátí 144
Sháhó Khán 165
Sharíf 220

Page.

Shawwál ... 148, 157, 159, 165, 223, 226
Shekh Bahánuddín (Zakaríyyá) Multání ... 137, 287
Shekh Ghulám Muhammad 147, 151
Shekh Hámid 146
Shekh Jaháu ... 140, 141
Shekh Shukrulláh 149—151
Shekh Usmán Rónkah ... 146
Shekh Zafarulláh ... 154
Shersing 235
Shikárgáhs 240
Shikárpur ... 141—148, 175, 176, 178, 204, 205, 209, 215—217, 220, 222, 228
Shórah 149
Shóran 146
Shuabán 164, 227, 238
Shujá-ul-Mulk ... 209, 215, 216, 220, 222, 223, 226
Shukrulláh Khán ... 151
Sikh (s) 216, 235
Silah 149
Sind 136, 141, 144—166, 170—178, 181, 184, 187, 196, 201—223, 226—229, 235, 238, 239
Sind Gazetteer ... 161, 170, 206, 207, 212, 223
Sindís 187
Sindrí 161
Siráí (s) ... 139—148, 154—157, 216
Sir Bartle Frere 239
Sir Charles Napier 227—229, 234—239, 250—258, 273, 275
Sir John (or Lord) Keane 223—226
Sir John Malcolm 214—217
Sir William Macnaughten. 223
Siwí ... ...137—146, 148
Siwístán ... 139—147, 157—159, 198
Sóbdár 167
Sobdár Khán 208
Súbahdár 205
Suhráb 188

Page.

Suhrábsánis 207
Suhrábpur 222
Sukkur ... 137 (*see* Sakhar)
Sulaimán Sháh ... 164, 175
Sulemán Khán 165
Sultán Jang 182
Sultán Sámtiah ... 149, 150
Súrijmal 141

T

Táhar 136
Táhar (Khizmatgár) 208, 210, 211
Tahmasb Kulí Khán ...149, 150
Tahsíldárs 184
Taimúr Sháh ...164, 175, 178, 199, 200, 203—206, 211
Tájah 141
Tájah Fakír Jatóí ... 195
Tájah Lákhí ...169—175, 184, 186, 195
Tájah Sámtiah ... 184, 194
Talhár 148
Tálib Sháh 205
Táló Khán 165
Tálpur (s) ...165, 168, 171, 181, 207, 219, 238, 301
Tálukah ...144—146, 149, 178, 213
Tamáchí 140
Tandah 211, 214, 215
Tandó 199, 208, 223
Tando Kaisar 197
Tandrah (or Tandah) ...208, 236
Tattá ...147—160, 162, 170, 199
Thal 195
Thar ... 153, 205, 209, 228
Thárah 145
Thárú 149
Tóghachí 149
Tuhfatul-Kirám 165
Turcomans 205
Turkey 213

U

Ubáorah 158, 160, 190
Uch 141, 161, 210

Page.

Udhejah 135
Udhepur 141, 156
Umarkas 157
Umarkót ... 148, 149, 153, 154, 171, 172, 180, 186—189, 196, 228, 236
Upper Sind Frontier ... 139

W

Wáiá Góhar 152
Waugah ... 149, 194, 197, 198
Waugah Walásah ... 194
Waukár 147
Wazír 209, 220
Wesúji 163

Page.

Y

Yakhtiar Kháu Lighárí 230, 232
Yár Muhammad ... 141, 142, 144
Yazíd 167, 213
Yúsif (Khizmatgár) ... 229, 236

Z

Zaidí 142
Zarak (Khán) 183, 184, 204, 206
Zamán Khán (or Sháh) ... 205, 206, 209, 215
Zamíndárs 145
Zí-Hajj 155, 162
Zí-Kaad ... 144, 148, 149, 162, 226, 228, 244
Zul Hajj ... 163, 164, 207, 229

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

00088045

Digitized with financial assistance from

on 07 January, 2017